The Discernment of Merit

A

Review of Georgian Edinburgh, 1746-1793.

Volume I
(of two volumes)

D. J. Bell

submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
awarded by Heriot-Watt University, School of Architecture.
May 1994.

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Without the encouragement and advice of Professor Alistair Rowan, my supervisor, and the helpfulness and remarkable patience of the overworked staff of Edinburgh City Archives, almost my second home for three years, the completion of this work would not have been possible. All errors are my own.

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ABSTRACT

Rapid growth of Edinburgh's New Town and equally rapid decline of the old city has overshadowed all later writings on the period and led to an accepted belief that the new was clean, elegant, spacious, healthy, while the old was dirty, quaint, cramped, and disease ridden. The validity of this view was examined by comparison to evidence from unpublished contemporary sources - mainly the Dean of Guild Court records, backed by Council Minutes and newspaper advertisements. A detailed picture of the town was built up, with emphasis on its spatial form and the layout, cost, situation, inhabitants, and condition of its lesser buildings. Contrary to the general view, and in particular to that of the celebrated "Proposals" of 1752, this showed the pre-New Town city to have been spacious, low-built, with a wide choice of dwellings, many with courts or gardens, and most well-maintained.

When new development and its occupiers were put into the context of contemporary society, a link formed between hostility to the layout and hostility to the social order it imposed. Characteristics designed to re-inforce a feudal organisation (stripped of its remaining power immediately after the Jacobites' defeat in 1746) appeared antipathetic to the aspirations of the "commercial" society which subsequently emerged. As suburban lodgings became a sign of social achievement, lodging in the town became socially unacceptable though little difference in size, style, and condition of most city and suburban dwellings was discovered. The city's physical decay appears to have begun only after further restructuring of society was repressed in 1793, when its standing became frozen in a radically diminished position.

Information on a missing segment of Edinburgh's architectural history, of practical use to those wishing to conserve the value of the area, was uncovered. It was also concluded that the prevention of neglect and redundancy might be achieved by a deeper awareness of the social processes involved in what is often a wholesale disregard of old buildings.

"First the Goths disliked the Roman arch, and now we dislike the Gothic arch ... even ideas on proportion are dependant on changing customs and interest."

Architettura Civile del Padre Guarino Guarini, Tratt I cap III oss nona 1737.[1]

INTRODUCTION

The evaluation of any environment presumes a norm, a standard against which to base qualitative judgements. Commonly, this has been provided by the tacit assumption of an archetype, social or aesthetic, without detailing its nature, or on what basis it is held to be valid, or whether the concept of archetypes has relevance. By having an implicit, unspecified, and unsubstantiated norm, such evaluations are inevitably almost entirely subjective.

The subject of this thesis, the Edinburgh of 1746-1793, like other environments whose use and meaning have been superseded, has been judged in comparison to its successor. The social, environmental, and aesthetic qualities of the new suburb have been given an unqualified and unquestioning acceptance: that they were not only preferable in their own time, but were intrinsically superior. Qualitative judgement is then self fulfilling, for the old, when considered merely as a version of the new, was bound to be defective.

To attempt a more impartial appraisal, explicit criteria have been developed from the following argument:-

Each biological society attempts to mould its environment into the form most beneficial to its own specific organisation. A basis for evaluation is set by the relative success or failure in achieving its own specific needs (within the limits of skill and available material). These needs as a whole are dominated by the controlling faction, and modified by the intrinsic interdependent nature of any society. They then vary within the overall structure depending on the status and function of the sub-groupings and their differing expectations and aspirations.

The thesis is therefore based on the initial assumptions:

1. That, in general, a structure, when erected, forms a physical reflection of the explicit and implicit needs and aspirations of the client society, in the macro (urban pattern) or micro (individual building) environment.

And, since structures serving a similar task with similar construction in dissimilar societies are differentiated by style;

2. That a certain aesthetic, expressed by spatial organisation and stylistic interpretation, can be perceived as reinforcing certain social organisations and aspirations.

If assumptions [1] and [2] are accepted, it follows that;

3. An aesthetic, if it can be perceived as reinforcing one social organisation, has the potential to be perceived as weakening others, and that,

4. Should social needs and aspirations change, the existing spatial organisation and stylistic interpretation may become antipathetic to the new aspirations and needs.

It is argued that such antipathy would imply only an inability to reinforce, and/or the potential to weaken the new aspirations and needs, and would not imply an archetypal design fault. Nor would it imply the end of the useful life of a built environment if rejected by one era, as the potential exists to outlive not only the society by which it was erected, but also the society by which it was rejected, and to survive into a succeeding age by which it might again be accepted. By establishing contextual criteria for assessing an environment in terms of the society by which it was created, it is possible to separate the essence of an aesthetic from the antipathies of specific cultural change. It then remains available for continuous or adaptive use as a design tool.

The thesis has had to rely on indirect evidence, as the social organisation and aspirations of the client society were too well-known at the time, too generally accepted to need to be made explicit except in the most unusual circumstances. Thus the interpretation of social attitudes and aspirations rests mainly on inference, from a combination of the beliefs implicit in contemporary comments and the distinctive quality of environmental design. The possibility of misunderstanding or misinterpreting this information is all too great, since these unspoken attitudes, with all balancing factors, are not necessarily shared by the interpreter nor are the

interpreter's attitudes necessarily those of the society being investigated. To at least face if not solve this dilemma, as many cross-checks from different sources, for negative as well as positive confirmation, have been made before specific viewpoints have been extracted, and it is emphasised that only a possible or probable, but not definitive interpretation is being made.

The text will thus attempt to;

i. establish a change in society, new aspirations and needs,

ii. establish how far that change was antipathetic to the old social organisation,

iii. establish how far the old fabric re-inforced the old organisation,

iv. establish how far the old fabric did not re-inforce, or actually weakened the new aspirations and needs,

v. exclude other factors.

It will apply the hypothesis specifically to the built environment of the City of Edinburgh between 1745 and 1793, in the following steps;

a) briefly exploring the general social and economic context,

b) describing the existing aesthetic (spatial organisation, stylistic interpretation), physical condition, and current use,

c) comparing the expressed contemporary dissatisfactions with the physical reality, and separating them into,

   i. tangible faults integral to the existing aesthetic (ie defective materials, structure, and construction, lack of space, inadequate shelter, and unhealthy conditions)

   ii. tangible faults not integral to the existing aesthetic (ie due to social behaviour, etc),

   iii. intangible faults (ie due to social conditioning)

d) putting the expressed dissatisfactions into the context of cultural change,

e) describing the new aesthetic (spatial organisation and stylistic interpretation),

f) comparing the previously expressed dissatisfactions with the differences between the existing and new aesthetics,

g) repeating steps c), d), e), f), at approximately 15 year intervals during the study period, and noting the change in;

   i. social and economic context

   ii. expressed dissatisfaction

   iii. the ways in which the expressed dissatisfaction is met

   iv. degree of success in meeting it.

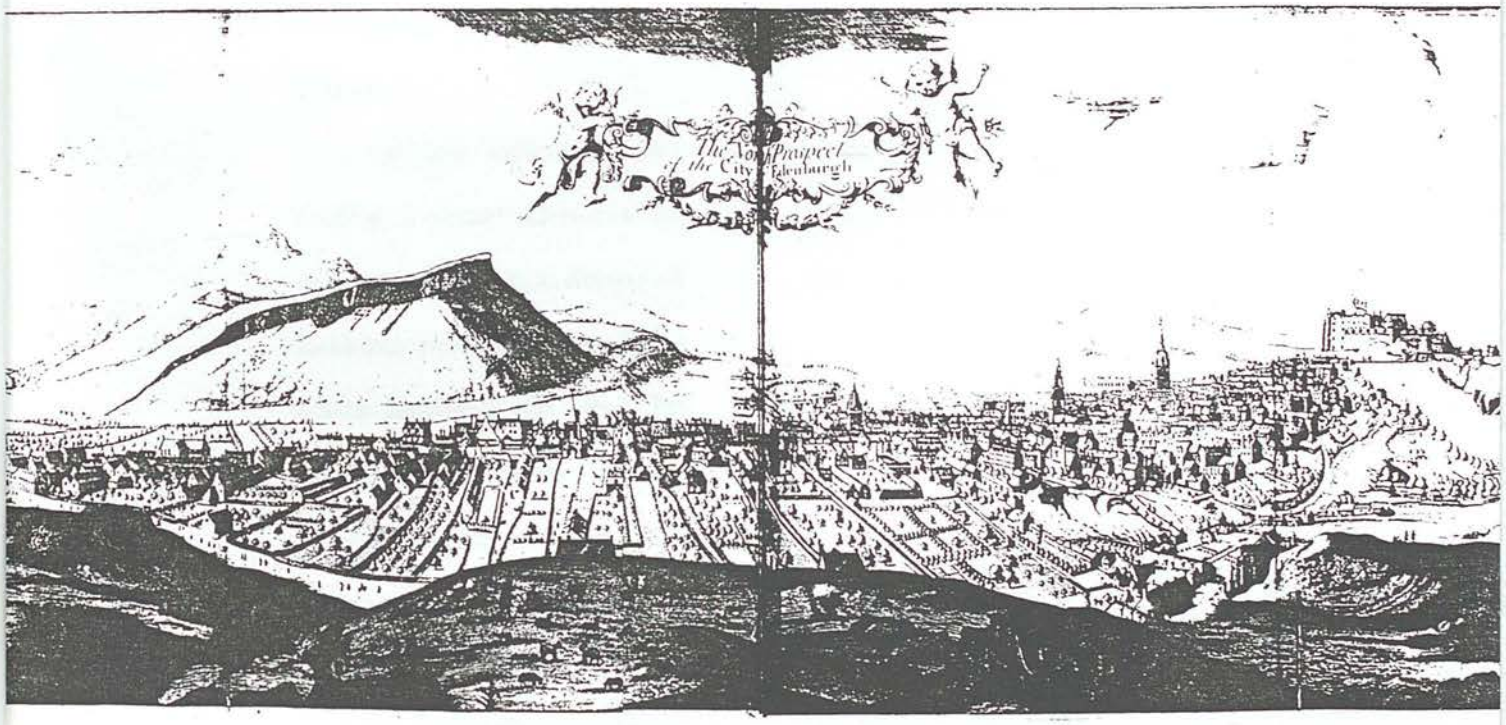
By this process, it is hoped to;

1. detach the aesthetic from cultural antipathies,
2. observe possible social organisation and aspiration which may be reinforced or weakened by the specifics of an aesthetic,
3. pinpoint the specifics of an aesthetic, which, when the fabric survives outwith its era, and its conservation as a historical document is thought appropriate, MUST be retained.

Chapter One will briefly set the social and economic background to use and demands on Edinburgh's built environment in 1746. Chapter Two attempts an analysis of its form as an answer to the use and demands of both original and current (1746) client societies. Chapters Three, Four, Five and Six examine, by the above method, the next forty-eight years of change, and Chapter Seven summarises the conclusions reached and reviews their relevance to conservation in general, and to the current and future conservation of central Edinburgh.

CHAPTER 1.

The Social Context, 1746.



"Edinburgh, by its lofty Situation, has the Advantage of pure Air, and a beautiful Prospect of great Extent into the Counties of East, Mid, and West Lothians, Stirling, Perth, and Fife Shires: And even from the Street at the Market- cross, whither Gentlemen and Merchants resort at Noon, is not only a fine View of the Frith of Forth, but the Prospect is terminated by the German Ocean, at the Distance of above twenty Miles. Besides, it is situate in a fine Country, inriched with a Number of Towns and Villages, adorned with many noble Seats, handsome Gardens and Inclosures which being interspersed with beautiful green Hills and Eminencies, form an agreeable Variety of pleasant and delightful Objects."[2]

fig 1. The Prospect of Edinburgh from Ye North, from *Theatrum Scotiae*, John Slezer, 1718.

On the 17th of September 1745, the Stewart claimant to the disputed throne of the United Kingdoms entered his "beloved Metropolis of our ancient Kingdom of Scotland"[3], then left it a month later to lead the last Scottish campaign into England, and in April 1746, to meet final defeat at Culloden. With the end of the Jacobite cause, Edinburgh's link with its past as a Stewart capital, as a centre of feudal government, was broken, and the city faced its new role in a world of economic, social, and political change.

A compact "metropolis" of roughly 50,000 inhabitants, Edinburgh was still, in essence, a closed mediaeval community. The walled city with guarded ports was designed, above all, to defend economic and social protectivism: it excluded unwanted incomers, protected the guilds' monopoly and controlled and taxed the flow of goods which bolstered the city's finances[4]. The lesser aim, almost totally ineffectual throughout its history, was to deter invading forces. Inside the walls there were obvious benefits; better housing with more choice even for the poor, greater more varied employment, a wider market for goods and produce, education for children, and help for the aged and infirm. There were opportunities for lesser gentry to make contacts and obtain patronage, and for merchants and tradesmen to gain some influence which, in mid eighteenth-century Scotland, was still rare for them to achieve. These privileges encouraged an introverted society, guarding its rights by custom, law, and the defensive design of the city itself[5].

The city's form was stamped by the physical and visual strength of its site, a topography so individual that it has never ceased to dominate changing styles and materials. At its west the castle, perched on a high spur of rock, overlooked the surrounding countryside. At its east, the former Abbey and the more recent royal Palace lay in the valley between Edinburgh's other two hills - Arthur's Seat and the Calton. The city's two main streets ran between these points; the high road climbed up a ridge to Castle hill rising above the loch at the foot of its north slope, and the Cowgate, a parallel low route, ran along the foot of a narrow valley to the south

between the eastern and western walls of the city, ending below the southern side of the Castle at the open space of the Grassmarket. On either side of both streets, the steeply sloping ground was sliced into narrow strips, early land divisions edged by a thick, uneven fringe of buildings pierced by pends through which the wynds and closes[6] which separated each strip could be reached. There were few buildings behind the street face except at the town's centre where, between these two roads, the High Kirk, Courts, and Council House lay grouped together at the mid-point of the city proper. Here, the buildings had spread from both High Street and Cowgate ends leaving few large open areas and only a central scatter of gardens and courts. It was this combination of land division and topography, from which every advantage had been taken by the inhabitants, which set the character of the environment.

In assessing this character, the qualities of the town at the time, and to establish how far the environment met its needs, first it is necessary to establish what kind of society existed within the boundaries and how it was organised.

Social Organisation

Three means of defining a subject's position in society - orders (or estates), status, and class - will be used throughout the thesis, and though traces of all could be found, only the first would have been easily recognisable to an inhabitant of the time. An order was defined by law, and to which of the three estates a Scot belonged was set, in the case of the nobility and commons, at birth. (Between those, the second estate - the clergy - had been severely modified in its nature by the effect of the Reformation.) Each of the orders was further defined by innumerable distinctions of status - of social honour - set by factors such as position within the estate, religion, education, leisure, and wealth. Wealth - or poverty - had such a powerful effect on the ability to acquire the distinctions of status, such as influence, leisure and education, that class - a collection of individuals sharing the same material circumstances - was to become, by

the 1790s, the third means of defining position. As has been stated in other works[7], a social division based on relative riches was not a concept familiar to mid eighteenth-century man or woman; in the straightened economic conditions of the time it was neither particularly relevant nor useful, and had it been explained to the people of 1746, would have outraged their assumptions about the structure of society. Social divisions, like land divisions, had been marked out in the feudal past and the status attached to the orders so outweighed other means of acquiring it that, in comparison, the difference they made was negligible. Relative positions within the hierarchy were still virtually unchangeable, so no markers or defences were necessary between the different groups[8]. The rigidity of the main social boundaries and the integral status of its parts are two themes which will recur throughout the thesis.

The greatest, almost unbridgeable gulf formed by feudalism was between the nobility and middle ranks. In such a small population, these middle ranks - the lesser gentry, merchants and professionals - were tightly interconnected by family. As practically no stigma seems to have been attached to trading, there was comparatively little difference in status between merchants and minor gentry whose occupations, in any case, overlapped; the income from a small estate needed to be supplemented, or in the case of younger sons the estate itself paid for, by profession or trade. Government office provided the most profitable occupation, followed by the army or navy, then law, with the church giving status certainly in the top Edinburgh ministries but comparatively little pay (see App.iv). Burgesses and guild brethern were also in the middle rank of society, and, up to the mid-eighteenth century they formed possibly the most important sub-division within the ranks of commoners. Their position was defined by law and most usually set at birth, though, as with the ranks of the nobility, it was possible but less frequent to gain it by payment or by exceptional actions. Dependant on market forces, they might or might not be wealthy, but were protected from the worst misfortunes by their rights within the city or through their craft or trade association. Sections of the poor, belonging to the city by family or parish were

also given help, but those with no claim were completely vulnerable. By 1746, the roles of the different orders had begun to change, affecting the aspirations and expectations each had of its environment. Some of the positions formerly reserved to the aristocracy had begun to devolve to commoners, members of the third estate in which, simultaneously, the richer were beginning to draw away from the poorer members. Narrower and non-familial distinctions of status were being brought into play and the broad centre of feudal society needed redefining.

Three men led, and in their lives reflected the evolution of Scottish society in the first half of the eighteenth century: the great noble Archibald Campbell, Lord Islay[9], known as the "Vice-Roy of Scotland", the gentleman Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, Islay's "manager", and the burgess George Drummond, frequent Provost of Edinburgh, his agent.

Pre-eminent among Scottish political tacticians, Islay was brother and heir of the immensely rich second Duke of Argyle, and friend and supporter of Robert Walpole, the leader of the United Kingdoms' government until 1742. Helped by the status of the one and in the cause of the other, by the tactical exerting of patronage, he took almost sole control of Scotland from the mid-1720s, until his death in 1761. Patronage was a potentially corrupting force involving to however slight a degree, bribery, blackmail, nepotism, and opportunism, but it was also the accepted (though often resented) means of advancement, and without it, the machinery of eighteenth-century society would have ground to a halt. In Scotland, distinct both in culture and in law, and removed in distance from the London government, aristocratic patronage was particularly strong; the heads of the great families, owners of large, sometimes immense tracts of land, were still virtual Princes within their own territories; they were the sole providers of livelihood and the main arbiters of justice (through their Barony Courts). To maintain or enlarge their influence, nobles had to be present at the source of power, Court and Parliament, both now based in London, and the more ambitious

of the Scottish aristocracy became representative peers (16 in number) in the House of Lords, or courtiers[10], while others pursued an almost equally profitable career in the army[11] or the navy. All these pursuits involved lengthy stays outwith Scotland, and were won in competition with the already established aristocracy of the richer Kingdom, England. Islay, a second son, won his place in United Kingdom politics in return for his iron grip on all matters Scottish, for his ability to have the government's wishes put into effect. By supremely skilled use of patronage he stabilised and orchestrated political and all other affairs; major and minor positions throughout the country were given to his agents, and the resulting system of dependency successfully manipulated the decisions of local government and other bodies of influence to the government's (or frequently his own) ends. (Until 1741, he controlled the seats of 30 out of the 45 Members of Parliament).

Opposition to Islay was led by the Marquis of Tweedale, the leader of a coalition of noblemen and gentlemen, who as Secretary of State between 1742 and 1746, won partial power after the collapse of the Walpole administration. Even in his brief ascendancy, Tweedale could only counterbalance and limit Islay's monopoly of power as his faction, a tightly interrelated group[12] commonly thought to be motivated almost solely by family loyalty, had neither the land nor votes to form a great political force. Within Edinburgh, he did establish a choice of greater or lesser patron - Islay having the majority of posts at his disposal, but Tweedale still able to place a small number of his men on each committee.

Islay, and other aristocrats successful in retaining a hold on national power, improved their living conditions where the amount of time in residence and the return in social status justified the expenditure: on either new town houses in London, or on their estates, or on both. The standard of taste was set by social equals, in Islay's case the richest, most powerful of the European aristocracy, the patrons of the foremost architects, artists, writers, and musicians. Both his English and Scottish seats re-inforced his status, as "Prince" in his own territory, or as competitor among his English

peers. Neither Islay, nor any other major peer, had further need for accommodation kept permanently for their sole use in Edinburgh where their status was still unassailable. While most peers still owned property in the city, it was mostly let, temporary lodgings being taken for their short infrequent visits. Islay, for example, lodged at Brunstane[13], and Caroline Park, his niece's villa[14] on the outskirts, when he was not in official residence at Holyrood. The aspirations of the nobility were unchanged, but no longer directed at or by Scottish society.

The void left in local Scottish politics, by the greater nobility's lengthy absences, rapidly filled with the more ambitious of society's middle layer. As they lacked either power or status to exert the same influence on political life or even to act independently, under their assumption of control Scotland was provincialised, ordered from a distant, largely indifferent centre. Edinburgh's new power structure was led by Islay's Scottish "manager", Andrew Fletcher, (law) Lord Milton. Easily the most influential man in Edinburgh if not Scotland - for, as was said at the time, "Milton's word in Scotland often became Islay's"[15] - his power, however extensive, was delegated by and dependant on Islay, and his position in society, his intrinsic status (in feudal terms) reflected this. Nephew of the famous "improver", Andrew Fletcher, Milton was made an advocate in 1717, rose to Lord Justice Clerk in 1734, and gained the office of Keeper of the Signet in 1746. His two marriages gave him distant connections, firstly, to the Earls of Rosebery, Caithness, and Fife, and secondly in 1723, to Argyle whose recommendation made him Lord of Session in 1724, and started the long, mutually beneficial association with Islay. Acting as local representative, he recruited likely men, oversaw the efficient working of nominees, and guarded the absent Islay's interests from internal threat of overambitious agents. Milton's prestige rose sharply in the Jacobite campaign's aftermath. His intelligence network had been put at the government's disposal, he had arranged quarters, supplies and transport for Cumberland, and after Culloden had directed the gathering of evidence, the arrests and transportations; "You are for the present in great favour with them" Islay wrote.

However extensive, it was not just the degree of influence that Milton achieved which was remarkable. While open in his attraction to intrigue and power for their own sake, he appeared to combine the accepted self-interest of the eighteenth century with a determination to achieve certain general ideals of social improvement, and during the careers of both master and manager the foundations of most of the major Scottish institutions were laid under adverse political circumstances. Since any scheme for Scottish benefit was dependant on expenditure of public, government controlled funds and therefore on an English initiative, it could be argued that, given the strong anti-Scottish feeling within the London government of the time, without the existence of two such consummate tacticians Scotland's great eighteenth-century advance would have been impossible.

Lord Milton's agents were recruited from the ranks of his fellows - merchants, lawyers, ministers, and other professionals. In his gift, by Islay's consent, were appointments at every level throughout Scottish society, places awarded as prizes in the game of reciprocal advantage. Most lucrative were the several government offices situated in Edinburgh, relatively undemanding sinecures dealing with specifically Scottish matters concerning land and taxes: the Board of Customs was "ideal for rewarding non-lawyer agents, lawyers being provided for with salaried places on the Bench"[16]; the Board of Excise saw to the management and collection of public revenue, and included English Commissioners, the Court of Exchequer judged public revenue questions, and "pursued a course of inglorious inefficiency"[17]; and the Chancery Office concerned itself with lands held by the Crown, feudal rights, grants from the Crown, and was responsible for the keeping of these rights (by records and extracts). With very few exceptions, the power of government office holders was held at their patrons' discretion. They had neither the freedom to vote as they wished nor the confidence of tested and marketable ability.

Within their own profession, the legal establishment, despite being subject to the same restraints of patronage and corruption normal to eighteenth century

administration, was remarkable for its independence; the clarity, consistency, and simplicity of civil law encouraging an equal intellectual rigour in its interpreters[18]. While many of the Faculty of Advocates were fairly high in the feudal hierarchy (96% of entrants between 1707 and 1751 were "sons of landed gentlemen or had intimate connections with them", and 56% of these were sons of peers, baronets etc.[19]), status of another kind within their own profession and within European intellectual society could be achieved. Greater independence of action was given to the law's upholders by its special position within the city and society. That Edinburgh still had some attractions for the nobility was due almost solely to the continued independence and uniqueness (despite the 1707 Union) of the Scottish legal system; rights of property, the basis of society, were held by virtue of complex and specifically Scottish law, therefore it was in the interests of major landholders that no change occurred. With increasing pressure from English legislators, awareness of Scots law's value intensified and its independence was defended by all sections of society. Thus the legal system was perceived differently from other characteristically national aspects of pre 1707 life - language, religion, and architecture - which offered less direct benefits and were, in contrast, being seen as a crude and outmoded handicap.

Due to the nature of their calling, the position of ministers also differed from that of other professionals. While their moral status could be immense, their social status was, in general, negligible, and though some independence of action could be claimed, their livings were in the hands of patrons (such as the Town Council). The duties, powers, and influence of the Church of Scotland brought it well into the sphere of Islay's interference, but presbyterianism's democratic tendency ran counter to patronage and "management"; many believed as Ebenezer Erskine, "I can find no warrant from the word of God to confer the spiritual privileges of His house upon the rich beyond the poor; whereas by this Act, the man with the gold ring and gay clothing is preferred unto the man with the vile raiment and poor attire"[20]. Supported by the political establishment, new aspirations, incomprehensible to the previous

century's rigorous Calvinism and very susceptible to patronage, began to gain acceptance. Termed *Moderates*, ministers who felt themselves "degraded in their rank by the increasing wealth of the lower orders"[21], who wanted almost above all to be associated with the gentry, and who preferred the comforts of social respectability to the discomforts of religious "fanaticism", bounded together to win control of presbyteries and finally of the General Assembly. The most implacable opponents of their influence were weakened by numerous schisms which were to become characteristic of the Scottish kirk. Many left the church in secessions of the 1730s, and by 1746 the *Moderates*, placed and rewarded by Islay, had almost suppressed dissent from the more traditional faction known as the *High Flyers*. Denominations outside the established church had little influence; these dissenting sects remained discreet, newly tolerated after severe persecutions[22].

The sole difference between the "likely men" and other minor gentry was the desire and ability to keep their patron's favour and the extent of their remuneration, not characteristics valued nor likely to impress a presbyterian, essentially feudal society. No unprompted change in attitude to the status of the person could therefore be expected from the rest of the population. To show a change in circumstance, almost the only respectable and acceptable (within limits) way available was by the building of a new house. This, as well as a permanent, visible sign of advancement, could also be seen as a social good, a view which an Exchequer baron at the turn of the century put clearly: he had "on many occassions carried on several building projects, at least as such as were too heavy for a Privat Man ... but this I thought a kind of duty, for as I received yearly about 500 lib sterling of the king's money, so I seemed to be under obligation to bestow a good part of it on his subjects who were Masons, Wrights, and other workmen."[23] In 1776, Adam Smith still argued that;

> "The houses, the furniture, the clothing of the rich, in a little time, become useful to the inferior and middling ranks of people. They are able to purchase them when their

> superiors grow weary of them and the general accommodation of the whole people is thus gradually improved, when this mode of expense becomes universal among men of fortune ... Noble palaces, magnificent villas, great collections of books, statues, pictures, and other curiosities, are frequently both an ornament and an honour, not only to the neighbourhood, but to the whole country to which they belong ... The expense, besides, that is laid out in durable commodities gives maintenance, commonly, to a greater number of people than that which is employed in the most profuse hospitality."[24]

Building work could show learning and taste, a following of the ancients worthy of regard, and, by adopting the latest style give visible sign of difference and physical separation from those not inclined to pay a proper measure of respect, within the home from servants and outwith from neighbours. The result, a typically eighteenth-century "improvement" portmanteau, was a gain to all concerned. In 1736, Milton had had a house (Brunstane) rebuilt on his small estate, but in Edinburgh continued to live in the same lodging[25]. He, and other rising men, were the new clients for any notable private houses in the city. Less wealthy and more conventional than the immensely rich and arrogant magnates, their architectural requirements were similar if somewhat muted. Consumed, like their superiors, by "Improvement" fever, for most, building or rebuilding a country house and reforming their estates could absorb all available income, leaving their town lodgings unchanged[26]. Only those with no place to entertain near Edinburgh, or without an estate, and the very few with money for both were rebuilding their houses in town[27]. As the demand increased from those unwilling or unable to finance the work themselves, new lodgings provided a major opportunity for developers.

In varying degrees, some minor gentry and professionals saw themselves as having advanced in society, but had no place in the feudal hierarchy to accommodate this change. They had been given position but not the power which could have been expected to go with it. Only a manipulator as effective as Milton could hold in check

inevitable demands for further change, movement towards a new distribution of power and away from the social organisation which prevented it. Middle class aspirations and needs had risen considerably, with as yet no means (except architecturally) of satisfying them.

George Drummond, last of the three leaders, was a merchant burgess of Edinburgh. Like Milton, he secured Islay's patronage by his marriage (the second of four) to a distant connection, the daughter of Sir James Campbell of Aberuchill in 1721. Through Argyle influence he became first a Commissioner of Customs then, when he was most in need of a steady income[28], of Excise, and in return he became Islay's man. Despite Drummond's *High flying* tendencies, Islay used him to steer the Kirk's General Assembly in the approved direction throughout the 1720s; as was resentfully observed, "the matters of the Assembly were entirely managed by such as were of one side, and one person Commissioner Drummond ...set up for dictator"[29]. His obedience and success in furthering Islay's aims were well rewarded; he became Provost in 1725, a founder member of the Board of Trustees for Manufacture and Fisheries[30], and member of the Board of the Royal Bank of Scotland. Disobedience met with equally severe punishment: in the 1730s, an attempt to take a more independent stance led to his immediate fall from favour; his diary noted, "my lord Islay looks upon me as a friend to his enemies, an underhand opposer of his measures both in church and state, and that I am in danger of being turned out"[31]. The Customs post was taken from him in 1737, and the conditions of a return to favour were made clear; Islay writing to Milton, "In case G D takes his rebuke with decency I intend to let him come into the Excise but he must humble himself"[32]. This presumably done, in 1738 Drummond was re-appointed Commissioner of Excise. Outside the city, Drummond lived on his small estate of Easter Hailes (also known as Colinton) which he had bought in 1738[33]. In town, he lodged on the second storey of the tenement at the head of Dickson's Close, in a house of six rooms, kitchen, two cellars and garret[34].

From 1746 to 1764, his period of greatest influence, Drummond was Provost during

each of five alternate periods (two year office). Theoretically, the merchants and crafts associations, as the economic backbone, the mediaeval purpose of the city's existence, ran the city council. In practice, Islay held control. This was successfully achieved through the usual mixture of promise or withdrawal of favours, to the town's or individual's benefit, exerted by Andrew Fletcher, and orchestrated by George Drummond. Predetermined by the current Councillors, only major internal disagreement could disturb the outcome of the election of the twenty five members of the Common Council. The following list of their offices and duties, by its very length indicates clearly the range and extent of power, and for this reason is given in full.

President of the Council, the Lord Provost, also held the positions of Lord Lieutenant, High Sheriff, Coroner, Justice of the Peace, Colonel of the City's Regiment of Trained Bands, Admiral of the Common Council, Captain of the City's Company of Fusiliers, Member of the Convention of Royal Boroughs, and, before the union of Parliaments in 1707, had invariably been a Member of the Privy Council and Member of Parliament. From four Bailies, the assistants to the Provost, were chosen the Deputy Sheriff and Coroner. All were J.P.'s and Magistrates as were the Dean of Guild and the Treasurer. These officers remained as members of the Council for the year after their year of service. The rest of the Council was composed of three Merchant Counsellors, two Counsellors of Trade, and six Deacons of Craft. The Council controlled the public expenses, the erection of public works, the selection and salary of ministers, school teachers, college professors, and the town guard, the election of the city's M.P. and Magistrates, the letting and acquiring of city land, and the public utilities, lighting, water supply, fire service, scavenging, and highways. The Bailies' Court tried civil and criminal (but not capital) cases. The Sheriffs' Court (or 10 merk Court), under a charter of 1603, was established for the " Ease of the Poor and Recovery of small Debts"[35] 10 merks being the highest amount which could be sued for, exclusive of servants' wages. The Dean of Guild Court, three merchants and three tradesmen who had served three years on the Council, decided on all matters of building, "...of nichtbourheid and

Nichtbours Wark to be stayet.."[36] eg, permission to build, prosecution for breaking site lines, affecting the light or access to adjacent property, causing structural damage, failing to keep in good repair, arranging common repairs or demolitions of dangerous buildings, and seeing that the building regulations were kept, etc. (functioning, in principle, much as it does today). It also inspected weights and measures and decided on " questions of Compt and Reckoning and Merchandize quhilk may happin to fall out betwixt twa Guildbrether and Burgesses"[37].

Councillors were chosen by the current holders of office from lists submitted by the societies and guilds. These occupational associations were all monopolies with fiercely protected statutory rights, and could to a great extent control wages, set prices, and protect the member workers within its own trade. Many of the smaller trades united to form incorporations of considerable influence; the Incorporation of Wrights and Masons by 1746 had absorbed (with the wrights), the coopers, painters, slaters, sieve wrights, and (with the masons), the glaziers, plumbers, upholsterers, and bowyers, and the Hammermen's Incorporation included pewterers, sadlers, cutlers, armourers, lorimers, blacksmiths, locksmiths, and shearsmiths. Part of each guild's common fund was invested in property which became a direct reflection of the associations' occupational status; long prosperity led to guilds becoming owners of extensive land holdings, tenements of shops, workshops, and houses, as well as their meeting halls. For each tradesman, there was a close physical link between shop, workshop, and often residence which, in Edinburgh, was as likely to be vertical as horizontal; "And the Ground floors in Edinburgh are not only employed for Shops, as in other Places, but many of the Cellars, and the first, second, third, and fourth Stories are used as such.."[38].

Unlike the lesser gentry, the Burgesses had little to gain from change. They were by nature conservative, trades being based on experience and custom, and their immediate interest lay in preserving existing rights in a closed society, as burgesses and guild brethren. If society became more open and flexible, while this could bring

more trade it could also bring competition and an end to their monopoly. Meantime their status was unaffected, as were their needs and aspirations. Drummond himself had been removed from, if he had ever been part of, the mercantile life of the city (see Chapter 4). As Provost, he went much further than protecting the burgesses' interests; pursuing what he saw as a future good, the widening of the market within the city by attracting the rich and powerful, he undermined the foundations of the existing monopolies. Integral to his basically commercial grand plan, was an interesting mixture of social good, (the Infirmary), learning, (the College), and remodelling of the environment, (the "New Town"). Unlike Islay and Milton he did not represent pre-eminent achievement of his estate; as an individual, he had moved beyond the aspirations of the burgesses whom, as Provost, he represented.

The needs and aspirations of the last and lowest layer of the population were rarely considered in eighteenth-century society. Vast numbers earned their living as body servants, an effective and traditional way of employing those unused by the primitive agricultural and industrial economy. By this remnant of the feudal system, servants gained shelter, food, and to a limited extent, the interest of their employer in their family's future; in return, the employer gained additional status from the numbers of his retainers, a limited degree of specific loyalty, and whatever service was being performed. As well as the small armies attached to the major nobility, burgesses, except the very poorest, would have had at least one servant and more usually two or three. Nearly all lived as well as worked in the house of their masters, in servants' rooms, or on truckle beds set up in any available space. Since their responsibility tended to be centred on an individual rather than a task[39], both physical closeness and intimate knowledge between master and servant were implied. Such a situation was tolerable only if both acknowledged similar precise and immovable boundaries to their respective places in society, but while the servant's position and values were static, the master's conception of his place in society could now be changing. With dissimilar boundaries, their respective values and expectations would almost inevitably

come into conflict, making a close physical relationship intolerable.

The "legal" poor, that is the crippled, blind, or weak, and those under fourteen and over seventy, who were unable to maintain themselves except by begging, had been defined in an Act of 1574, "Anent the Punishment of Strong and Idle Beggars and Provision for Sustenation of the Poor and Impotent". Begging was confined to the parish of birth (or residence of three years), and those eligible were given a badge as license. All badgeless beggars were to be sought out and imprisoned, and it was illegal (with fine of not more than £5 scots) to give them money, lodgings, or any other form of relief. It was mandatory for justices of each parish to list all legal poor and assess their needs, then to tax residents according to their substance (reviewed annually). Any children of beggars between five and fourteen could be taken from them for service with any person of honest estate, till females were eighteen, and males twenty-four. In 1625, it was further ruled that each parish must provide a house where the poor could be gainfully employed, lodging being already provided under the earlier Act. In 1661, in an Act similar to the one of 1574, the possibility of temporary assistance for the able-bodied in times of temporary disability was not excluded, which may have led to the classification of paupers as "regular" or "occasional"[40]. While the sources of poor relief had altered slightly over the intervening years the substance of the law was virtually unchanged. Outside any legal or social protection, the "illegal" poor were totally dependant on the burgesses' tolerance. When their number became too "troublesome and uneasy"[41], they were rounded up by the City Guard and taken to the Correction House, a place "of use to.. banish the idle and vitious from this city and two counties"[42], temporary confinement till the offenders could be returned to their own parishes or sent to the American or West Indian Colonies. Nothing is known of how and where they found shelter within the city.

The mob, made up of mainly the lower layers of society, was the only possible expression of popular outrage. Theoretically spontaneous its violence could be, and probably was manipulated. As well as minor corn riots in times of famine, the bloody

Shawfield riot of the 1720s and the notorious Porteous riot (1736) were well within living memory. In 1746, the mob was still a force feared by both local and national government, a fear increased by disaffected remnants of the Jacobite army who could not return to their homes for fear of arrest, and were roaming the towns and countryside with almost nothing left to lose.

The Economic Position

In comparison to other nations especially England, Scotland was poor, crude and unsophisticated in economic terms; reliant on harvests, on exchange of goods rather than coin, on labour rather than rent. At the beginning of the century, trade and industry, though of growing importance, had been a small part of the national economy, and most of the population (about four-fifths) owed their living to the land. This re-inforced the social gulf between the aristocracy, who held the land, and the rest of the population; it was as great financially, and just as unbridgeable, there being still no means to equal the vast inherited wealth of the major nobility.

Trade was the basis of burgh privilege;

> "...the exclusive right of exporting and importing all forreign commodities by sea, excepting corn, coals, minerals, and others particularly excepted...is in the freemen and burgesses of burghs royal bearing burden within these burghs, and in the freemen inhabitants of those burghs of barony, regality or others, who have accepted of the communication of trade with regard to the inhabitants of Scotland, and under the exceptions allowed to noblemen and gentlemen...of exporting the produce and manufactory of their own ground, as also of any other commodities in order to purchase goods to be imported for their own use..."[43]

These privileges were of great value, and frequently under attack from "unfree" traders, those with no right to trade, and paying no share of "burden", ie the national

land tax. (Goods and merchandize of unfree traders were liable to confiscation, half going to the crown and half to the burgh.) Duties were payable by all goods entering the city, excepting those for the private use of burgesses and nobility.

Scottish merchants were not particularly affluent. Foreign trade was a high risk venture with only a small domestic market for imports, and little to export. To finance trade and the setting up of new industries, the Bank of Scotland had been established fifty-one years previously, later followed by the rival Royal Bank of Scotland in 1725 (with Islay as its first Governor, Tweedale being later Governor of the Bank of Scotland). By 1746, these were joined by an increasing number of private banks[44], often as an adjunct to existing corn and commission businesses. At the same time, the Board of Trustees for Fisheries and Manufactories (established in the 1720s) encouraged production. Its foundation showed political manoeuvring at its best, allowing Scotland and everyone concerned to benefit to some degree from a crisis involving the English government: "Devised by Scots in London to answer a political emergency in Scotland"[45], it helped quell the threat of civil disobedience roused by the 1725 Malt Tax, extracted funds overdue from the Union and the Equivalent to finance it, implemented the scheme devised by the Society of Improvers, and, as a by product, lent the funds to the Royal Bank enabling it to expand.

By 1746, a change in the pattern of trade had at last brought steady expansion. As capital, Edinburgh profited from the increasing riches brought by western links to the American and West Indian Colonies and the rapid rise of the tobacco trade. As well as lucrative imports, the colonies provided an expanding market for exports, simple household goods within the range of Scottish manufacturers. But these national advantages were outweighed locally by the suffering of east coast trade in the parallel decline of the routes to France and the Low Countries. Formerly rich burghs lost their shipping, and saw their ports disused or decaying[46]. East coast shipping was also badly affected by the war (1739-48), the coastal merchant vessels stopped and looted by French privateers[47]. Traditional balance between burghs was slowly adjusting, the

newly poor relieved of the land tax burden, and the newly rich applying for the right to trade, (or appropriating it by smuggling).

In an age when banking was still primitive, specie unreliable[48], trading risky, and industry minimal, the richer of the middle stratum had little choice of profitable investment. Since land and property gave a comparatively stable return, in specie or in kind, small estates were purchased by professionals and merchants. For burgesses who needed to live and work in town, these were impracticable, but property development within the city had many attractions; giving a tangible inheritance, a potential increase in income and status, and an improvement in personal living and working conditions. For mason and wright burgesses, a double profit could be made, as both contractor and developer. The building trades were therefore a major source of employments within Edinburgh, together with brewing, coach-works, the heavily subsidised linen and, to a much lesser extent, woollen manufactories. Though Edinburgh was virtually the only town which could support a market for luxury trades, commercial activity (and its premises) was limited by domestic production in what was still a largely self-supporting agricultural economy.

Summary

Edinburgh in 1746 was the capital city of a small, sparsely populated impoverished nation at the outer edge of what was seen as the civilised world. For the first time in its history it was faced by neither internal nor external threat, and in parallel to this unaccustomed stability the economy was gradually improving, changing from a semi-feudal agricultural base (the population tied to the land and the landowners), to a monetary system encouraging manufactories and eventually the industrial process. But the stable government was based in the sister capital of an unsympathetic and, post-1745, Scotophobic partner state five hundred miles distant. Controlling major funds, taxes, and offices, England regarded the nation and particularly the city as a potentially

troublesome force to be "managed" into accepting policies arising from its own (English) interests, which might or might not be in the interest of Scotland.

The city was still a contained and protectivist community. Within its walls, the Incorporations and Societies were the major force in local government, holding control of fees and wages. It was comparatively socially responsible, but with that responsibility limited to those within, with established right to belong to the city, outsiders being firmly excluded. There was an increasing amount of wealth to invest, interested clients, skilled craftsmen, and available material for building.

Society was in transition, politically and economically. The decline of feudalism, through the combined effect of the Act of Union, the Stewart defeat, and economic growth, was beginning to have strong social implications. Direct benefit was felt by the inheritors of power, the aspiring members of the third estate, whose needs were equally directly altered. Feudal society provided no mechanism to meet this change, to differentiate between degrees of status in a new non-aristocratic organisational structure with only nominal power. The inbuilt conservatism of burghal society made it largely impervious to any immediate effect, whether beneficial or detrimental, so little or no difference in burgesses' needs or aspirations resulted; but west coast trade was not only affecting the traditional balance of status between burghs but also accelerating growth of trade and manufactories. It would soon be possible for the personal wealth of merchant burgesses to increase far beyond the previous limits of a backward economy.

And the poor merely multiplied

CHAPTER 2

The Lost Aesthetic, the pre-1746 City.

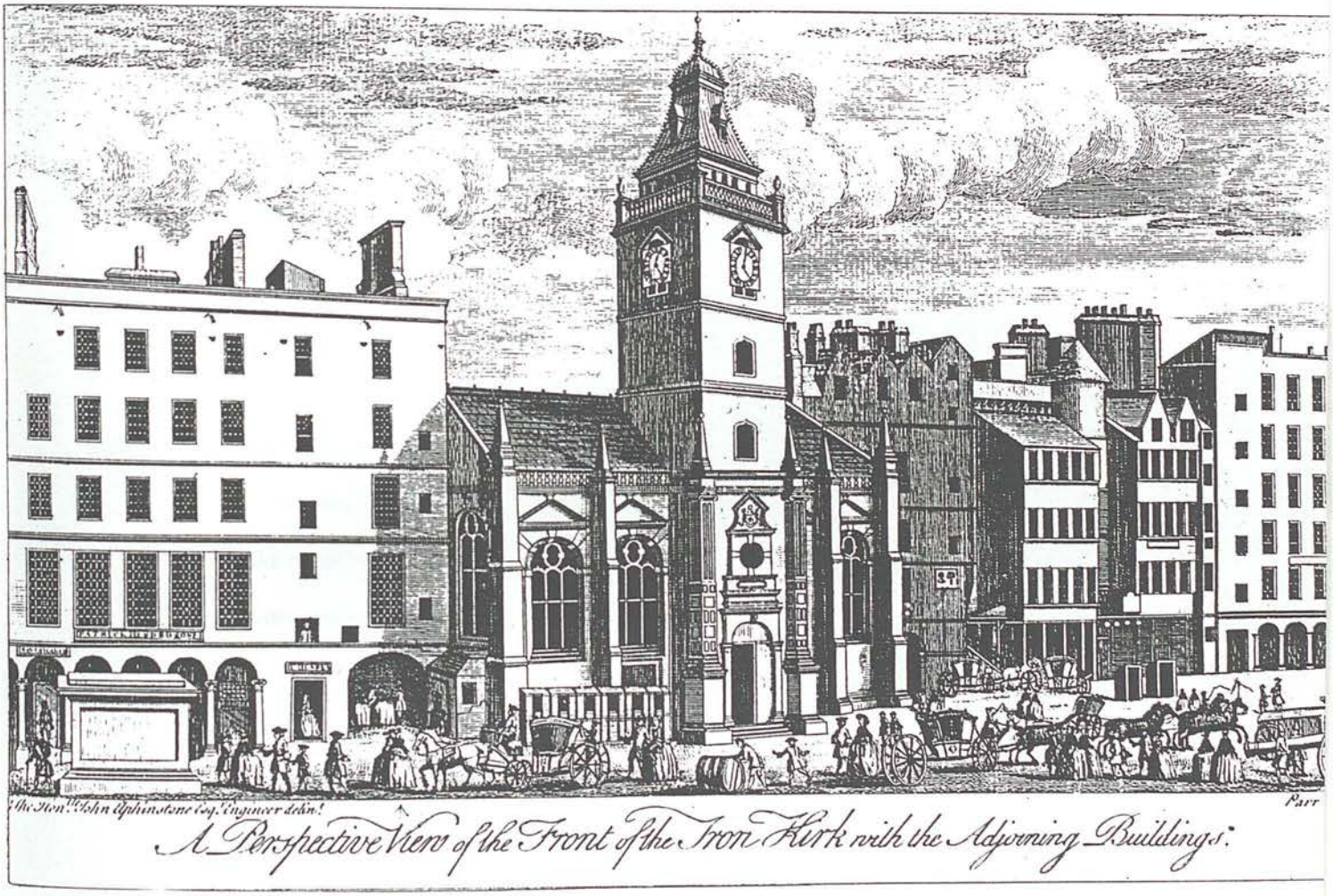


fig. 2 A Perspective View of the Front of the Tron Kirk with the Adjoining Buildings, John Elphinstone, 1760.

Edinburgh in 1746 was a city which had been designed for monarch, court, church and burgh community - every component of feudal society - and constructed over an early framework, still essentially the same as a description of 1477[49]. Despite constant movement of the balance of power during civil wars, invasions, the Reformation, and James VI's accession to the English throne, the feudal structure had stood firm for over three centuries. Since neither the structure of society nor, within the boundaries, the dominating concern to defend trade and property from outsiders had changed, the city, designed to support them, had been able to accommodate the needs of successive inhabitants with only minor alterations. While the framework itself was mediaeval, very few of the buildings it contained were over two hundred years old. Earlier fabric had suffered badly in the sixteenth century; much of it was severely damaged by the English "rough wooing" of 1544, then more had been left abandoned after the "pest" decimated the population in the 1560s and 80s[50]. With the exception of some religious foundations, most buildings appear to have been replaced in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, and to these, later generations had added a concentration of late seventeenth-century development in the centre, and a sprinkling of eighteenth-century work mainly on the outskirts.

As described in the previous chapter, society in 1746 was suddenly in transition, the old order still in existence, but its boundaries, codes and values struggling to cope with new political and economic circumstances outwith its frame of reference. With such change in the structure of Edinburgh's community, if the hypothesis at the beginning of this work is correct, it was only to be expected that some dissatisfaction with its physical shell might be voiced; that what had once been an advantage could become a disadvantage regardless of its physical condition, and that those now in the forefront of society might become antipathetic to an environment which was at least potentially in direct opposition to their needs.

Whilst there is no lack of sources of contemporary opinion, the views expressed in one particular commentary on the state of the city have, in the course of time, been

allowed to dominate all others, to the exclusion of any opposing or contradictory evidence. In 1752, the *Proposals for carrying on certain Public Works in the City of Edinburgh* were published, "of extraordinary interest because of the light that they shed on the circumstances, ways of thought, intentions and ambitions of the originators of the enlarged town"[51]. It is these much quoted proposals which, unquestioned, have set today's accepted view of the eighteenth-century city as a place of "congested, narrow closes and .. lofty, crowded, often dilapidated tenements with .. dark and dirty common stairs .. within the walls a city .. so choked with houses that there was no room to build"[52]. The following chapter sets out to establish to what degree this is a valid description, what picture is given by other contemporary sources and how their view compares to the complaints of the pamphleteer. It will also examine how strongly the city's feudal origin did, in fact, determine its form, how great a social discipline was imposed by it on the inhabitants, and whether either of these factors could have played any part in the rejection of the existing fabric and framework.

The area under consideration covers the nine mid-eighteenth century parishes of the city proper, together with the Canongate parish[53]. The West Kirk (St. Cuthbert's) parish which took in most other areas is, in general, excluded, as is the Calton part of South Leith parish (see maps in Volume II).

Unreferenced quotes are from the *Proposals*[54].

The Framework

Edinburgh began its charted existence as a dependant settlement of the castle (c. sixth century), juxtaposed, some centuries later, to another community, a close counterpart which had grown up round the abbey (founded in 1128) one mile away. Granted burgh status by Robert I in 1329[55], with its trade and traders safe behind the defences of castle, loch, and town walls the town not only overtook and eventually

won control over its neighbour, the much weaker burgh of Canongate (whose superior it became in 1636[56]), but it also developed into one of the largest, most important, cities in the kingdom. Trade, the key to Edinburgh's prosperity, had dictated its form. The whole city was centred along the line of a wide elongated market place, edged by shops and houses[57], and into this Market or High Street, by the seventeenth century the community had inserted a variety of buildings used to control its members and markets - the salt tron, weigh house, guard post, and prison. These divided the one long space into a succession of linked areas, each with its own distinctive character set mainly by association (or lack of it) with the royal and civic buildings and by topography. Markets - one for each type of produce - added to the varied character, each being held on different days in different sections of the street. The centres of government - the High Kirk, Courts, Council House, and eventually the national Parliament - had, by this time, been grouped round an open area to the side of the market street, south of the mid-point of the city proper.

By the late seventeenth century, the High Street was serving a double purpose, not only as a contained, protected market space, but as the city's public face. In 1674, to give a more coherent, formal, appearance to the High Street's facades, the Council imposed restrictions on the elevational lines, internal heights, and entries of new buildings, and ordered ground floor arcading of specified size and proportion. Projections into the street, booths, forestairs, and outshoots, were to be eliminated for the future, and obstruction of the High Street[58], however temporary, was also forbidden[59]. Up till then, the demands of "good neighbourhood", which the Guild Court supervised, had been concerned only with the protection of property rights, health, and public safety. For the first time, aesthetics were being explicitly included within the terms of public good; the Act of 1674 ruled, in effect, that a certain specified style, in itself and outwith any implications it may have had on construction or condition, was so much to the benefit of the community that its use should be enforced. A possible conflict thus arose between the High Street's function as market-

place and this new emphasis on appearance; whether the traditional form of trade as the backbone of the burgh's existence should have first claim to the centre of town, or whether it was more important that a public face comparable to that of rival cities should be presented.

By 1746, though little actual change had occurred, opinion on the side of appearance had strengthened, and by the time of the *Proposals'* publication in 1752, it was obvious from its text that, at least for its promoters and supporters, the reversal of priorities was complete: "Confined by the small compass of the walls, and the narrow limits of the royalty ... the principal street is encumbered with the herb market, the fruit market, and several others ...". A new attitude to the city was emerging, and those who were moving away from traditional habits were ready to abandon the original but outgrown basis of the burgh's economy. More importantly, the new stance also rejected the emphasis given to the protection and encouragement of trade. Unlike the markets, the trading rights of burgesses remained crucial to the wealth both of the city and of most of its inhabitants; dues were still collected at the ports, smuggling through the walls was still being prosecuted[60], while alternative sources of income such as manufacturing were only in their infancy. In the *Proposals*, the very form established to protect these rights was under attack: "Placed upon the ridge of a hill, it [the city] admits but of one good street, running from east to west; and even this is tolerably accessible only from one quarter". The unchanged nature of the town as closed burgh was being entirely disregarded, for whereas one narrow entrance was indeed inconvenient for a promenade or thoroughfare, it was a sensible precaution for the convenient use of a guarded market place. In the face of what was, to the greater part of the population, a satisfactory way of life, new criteria based on an entirely different and as yet unaccepted organisation were being used to judge the city to its inevitable detriment.

In the same way, the "lanes leading to north and south" judged by how well they served the purpose intended by their builders, were successful, but judged by the

Proposals opposing demands, were "by reason of their steepness, narrowness, and dirtiness" only to be considered "as so many unavoidable nuisances". Like the "market" street, they owed their form to the settlement's origin in trade. In Edinburgh (and most other burghs), the city's ground had been divided into long narrow strips, allowing a maximum number of properties to have frontages onto the market street, each with maximum holding of cultivable land behind. As had been established in the earliest burgh legislation, only merchants, trades, and craftsmen who had been granted burgh land (known as toft or tenement) and had built on it within a year of coming into possession could become burgesses, and only burgesses had the right to trade within their town[61]. Since such sellers of wares needed and wanted sites which attracted passing custom, ground on either side of the High street was the most sought after, and invariably the first buildings (commonly and confusingly referred to as lands) were erected on the street front, with gardens behind. As the population grew in size and richness, many were extended down the open strip of ground, and to gain entrance to the buildings to the rear (backlands), private entrance paths (closes) from the street were needed, one to each tenement and each only as long as necessary to reach the land lying furthest back from the frontage[62]. Most of these closes led to only a few buildings and an equally small number of residents had rights of access, though some in the centre of town seem to have become more public, and added to a number of north-south thoroughfares (known as wynds).

Steepness was part of the nature of the site, virtually unchangeable, and this the mediaeval community used to great advantage; it allowed views and light into many more houses than would have been possible on a flat site; and it gave all inhabitants some protection from armed attack, some possibility of defending their own property when closes, the only access to their houses, were both steep and narrow. Difficulties did exist; as one of the many proposals for new roads argued,

> "...one great reason why the north side of Town is not as much improven and built as

> the south side is because there is not access to it for carts or horses but whatsoever is imported to it from the north must be carried up Leith Wynd and unloaded upon the high street then carried down closses upon mens shoulders which is a sore and expensive labour"[63],

but, as had been proved in 1745, the advantage of a semi-fortified site and defensible dwellings well outweighed the disadvantage. Edinburgh's inhabitants had every reason to fear attack: they had long experience of invading armies, street skirmishes were frequent, and mob violence a reality. At each occurrence (including the '45) property was destroyed and inhabitants were injured and killed. In 1746, defense of lives and property was still a necessity not a romantic archaism, and the network of narrow closes was still playing a major part in the citizens' protection.

As to dirtiness, all contemporary European cities suffered similar problems in disposing of refuse. Whilst some could use rivers as giant open drains, Edinburgh, on its stony ridge, had first to gather then remove all waste. The severe difficulties were recognised and, for their time, the council were notable for making all possible arrangements within their ability. Since 1687, "20 close carts well pitched and tarred with a cover of tarred sail over" each drawn by two horses, were put in place at 10pm, filled by householders, and removed in the early morning[64]; in addition a large "timber coup" was kept permanently in each wynd, public vennel or close, for ashes and sweepings which could be taken later to the close cart; thirty muckmen cleaned and swept the streets before 9.0am (or 7.0am summer)[65]. Other acts prohibited the more offensive means of disposing of specific types of rubbish[66], and confined foul smelling and dirty trades (ie fleshers and tanners) to the edge of the Nor Loch well below the city. That, historically, the inhabitants themselves had unpleasantly dirty habits is well documented; neither collection nor regular fines ended their custom of throwing waste from windows, badly affecting rainwater disposal, blocking roof gutters and open sivers, causing overflows and water damage to wallheads and foundations, and giving rise to a seemingly all pervasive stench[67]. Public urinals had

been provided since the late seventeenth century[68] but petitions to the Guild Court suggest that these were insufficient; a typical complaint states that "Dayly resort Chairbearers Town Gaird Souldiers and Boys..[to use certain ruinous tenements and waste ground]...as a Common Jakes, The Stink of Which is so intollerable that it is a Scandal and reproach to the Place"[69].

The Council not only cleaned the streets but did its best to keep them comparatively well lit, starting in 1684 by ordering "a Lantern and Candle to be hung out at the First Storey of every Tenement or Land, at Five of the Clock in the Evening, to burn till Ten, from the Twenty ninth of October to the First of March, on the Penalty of Five Merks Scottish for every Omission". From 1688, the Council provided lamps and by the 1740s their number (fuelled by rape seed oil) stood at 100[70]. Road repairs were ordered and arranged by the Dean of Guild; the High street was "layed with square cute whin stones in the midle pairt..the rest..to be layed in rouch work"[71], and its sides were paved with plainstone and edged with timber or stone pales as a protection from traffic[72]. (Chair bearers within the pales suffered 24 hours imprisonment and their masters fined 20/- sterling[73].) Wynds and closes were also paved in calsay or plainstone, with a closed or open siver to carry off surface water. (Their paving, together with courts and yards, was arranged by their owners). All routes except Castle Wynd and Bell house brae were forbidden to fleshers "driving any bestiall whatsoever great or small" from the Grassmarket to their workshops by the Nor'loch[74].

The condition and maintenance of the town's streets and footpaths were therefore as good as the inhabitants' behaviour would allow; regularly cleaned, well lit and repaired, and only the insanitary (and illegal) habits of the indwellers themselves to blame for the dirt. In the preceding quote from the *Proposals* it was assumed that steepness and narrowness, like dirt, were self evidently undesirable. The economic and social organisation which found these an advantage was again, by implication, being rejected in favour of a different organisation to which they were a positive

disadvantage, a nuisance. This revision of values and attitudes was as yet supported by only a tiny minority of the inhabitants. For the majority, who earned their livelihood in the customary manner, the city's form seems to have remained perfectly convenient. Certainly there is no suggestion that this was not the case.

Other characteristics of the framework, less obvious than the guarded High Street and the steep, narrow closes, and rarely discussed either at the time or in the present day, may have had a much deeper effect on the social organisation of the inhabitants. By 1746, a sophisticated pattern of informal, asymmetrical spaces had been formed, with a clear relationship to the topography, to major civic and national functions, and even to the minor buildings within the pattern. Though the form of the city and its major structures could be seen from a great distance, physically dominating the land and skyline, once within the walls, each area was visually complete in itself, with extremely restricted views of its neighbours. The city had no formal vistas, no spatial assertions of authority; obscurity and privacy of entrance gave no opportunity for external display, little needed to bolster the certainties of a feudal hierarchy. Even major buildings had no formal approach from a distance, and were emphasised only by partially enclosed cleared areas around them. There was a minute grading of privacy in external spaces, from street, to close, to court, with subtle levels of interaction between common territory (High streets and wynds) and that of the individual (courts and closes)[75]. Within the obvious, visible, public layout, an extraordinary degree of privacy was achieved, an intricate, concealed network of courts, yards, and gardens. Off the High Street, understanding of the pattern was totally dependant on local knowledge, easy to insiders, impossible to outsiders who, in their confusion, could be vetted and controlled.

Such a close-knit development was accomplished with the minimum sacrifice of light, view, access, and privacy, only by making full use of the constant change in level down each site and by the careful interposing of courts and gardens around building blocks [fig. 3]. This very arrangement, so successful in terms of protection, density, and

individuality, also left each property particularly vulnerable to encroachments from its neighbours. Mutual boundaries were shared not with just one, two, or three, other properties but with anything up to six or seven, all with separate owners, and these did not include the even greater numbers which overlooked their ground or walls [fig. 4]. The more obvious problems were avoided by the common acceptance of the laws of "good neighbourhood", which tightly protected the rights of proprietors, and these could be socially as well as legally regulated in this small, enclosed, and inter-related community. To survive, burgesses were dependant on each other, on their mutual agreement to keep out foreign traders, on their joint ability to defend their own property, and on their understanding and acknowledgment of relative positions within society. As long as these factors survived, the acceptance of "good neighbourhood" was guaranteed. Were they to break down, minor and even major intrusions into space and light would be almost impossible to police and quite impossible to prevent, and the city could rapidly become an intolerable environment.

Density

Within the close-knit fabric, the density of the population was relatively low, and more than half the total area was open space. In 1746, a high percentage of land to the south (not part of the town until 1514[76]), as well as much of the rest of the city, was still being used as public or private gardens, stable or work yards, or was lying waste. There is clear evidence that buildings were dense only in the very centre - between the Tron and High KIrk - where backlands had spread up from the Cowgate as well as down from the High Street, and were now beginning to meet in the middle. Even here many buildings had courts, some had gardens. (As will be shown later, much of the built-up area was either only two or three-storied housing, or one storey stables and outhouses.) All the new charity institutions (which are described later in the Chapter), had semi-public formal grounds. Even the Bedlam Hospital was given a garden and

avenue soon after its completion[77], and Merchant Maidens' governors went so far as to lay out gravel paths and seats with little roofs for the use of the girls[78]. Sports too were given large tracts of open space: the mid seventeenth-century popularity of tennis (whose courts had been either demolished or put to other uses by 1746[79]) had been overtaken by bowling, which was available on many greens, four of which lay in the south west corner of the city[80].

Though the ten parishes (excluding West Kirk) each had an individual character partly due to topography partly use, without exception, gardens seem to have been viewed as virtually essential amenities. Most of the remaining nobility still lived close to castle and palace, with a small enclave along Mint Close. All their residences had extensive private gardens and stabling, and even those of the lesser gentry in the neighbourhood had some ground, like the one of three houses for let (with six fire rooms) in the tenement at the foot of the uppermost close on the south side of Castlehill which offered a garden, summer house, oven and waterpipe as attractions[81]. Nineteenth-century descriptions are interesting, but undated: the Marquis of Tweedale's house was reported to have a succession of ornamental terraces, and plantation of limes[82]; the Earl of Moray's house had "stately terraced gardens" with a summerhouse, the upper terrace shaded by a magnificent thorn tree, the second with a "curious arbour" of interlaced tree stems, and the third with a fountain of clear water with a marble statue of a little fisherman with basket[83]. Other gentry were forming a noticeable group in old Grayfriars' and Lady Yester's parishes on the lightly populated south edge of the city. Each of their houses had its own stabling and gardens, smaller than the nobility's, of which very little is known though the map of 1742 shows terracing, parterres, and two indications of an enclosure round a mound. (No confirmation from other sources has yet been found.) Most merchants and professionals lived as near as possible to their places of work: lawyers, government and council officials stayed near the courts and offices of Parliament Close[84] in the still fairly open areas of the Lawnmarket and the Luckenbooths. A few like those in

Milne's and James Court, shared large gardens in common with all the other proprietors, and the house where Lady Stair lived after moving from her Mint lodging in 1753 until her death in 1759, was said to have attached to it "a large and beautiful garden, adorned with trees and serpentine walks, reaching down to the North Loch"[85]. Houses and workshops of burgess craftsmen, merchants and traders centred on the Tron, the city's commercial hub, which was surrounded by closed and open markets and coach and sedan chair stands. Even here in the very heart of the city where the prime business and trading sites were to be found, many frontlands and nearly all backlands had a small court, and a few backlands still kept a small garden. Inns, stablers, and coach builders, all with large yards, were concentrated round the main ports.

No area within the town and Canongate seems to have been exclusively residential or commercial, noble, professional, mercantile, or poor. (Only St. Ninian's or Dub Raw, behind the College Kirk and outwith the city, had a consistently dubious reputation.) No social group had houses of any particular period nor was any area more extensively rebuilt or derelict than any other, with the exception of the Canongate, more of a village than a city suburb with few buildings and even fewer inhabitants for its size, which, it was said,

> "..has suffered more by the Union of the Kingdoms, than all other Parts of Scotland, For having, before that period, been the Residence of the chief of the Scottish Nobility, it was then in a flourishing Condition but being deserted by them, many of their Houses are fallen down, and others in ruinous Condition; it is in a piteous Case!"[86].

Over all, the town contained a high proportion of open space behind the hard line of front lands. More than that, both the south slope of the Cowgate and, beyond the walls, the Canongate had large areas of waste ground, and great potential for development.

> "Confined by the small compass of the walls, and the narrow limit of the royalty, which scarcely extends beyond the walls, the houses stand more crowded than in any other town in Europe and are built to a height that is almost incredible. Hence necessarily follows a great want of free air, light, cleanliness, and every other comfortable accommodation. Hence also many families, sometimes no less than ten or a dozen, are obliged to live overhead of each other in the same building; where, to all the other inconveniences, is added that of a common stair, which is no other in effect than an upright street, constantly dark and dirty."

To today's reader, this well-known image from the *Proposals* is easily accepted, already a familiar and well-documented picture of the appalling condition of slum tenements, housing for the workless poor, the so-called "dangerous classes", which existed in mid-nineteenth to early twentieth-century Edinburgh, and was eradicated in a series of "Improvement" schemes of the same dates. Whether it is as unbiased and reliable a description of the houses of eighteenth-century burgesses has never been much questioned, for, in the public mind, the two major Edinburgh housing redevelopments, one in the eighteenth century and one in the nineteenth, have become inextricably mixed, and the credence given to this detrimental picture of the earlier town rests almost solely on evidence from its much later, undeniably degenerate, condition[87].

Before the validity of the *Proposals'* description is examined as a whole, it needs to be emphasised that flatted dwellings were not and are not slums per se as it implies, though like any other form of housing, if overcrowded and badly maintained as happened in the nineteenth century, the standard of living they provide falls drastically. For many centuries, flatted dwellings have been a normal and uncontroversial form of urban residence for all strata of society throughout Europe (excepting only England); large, ornate, and expensive, to small, simple, and cheap. Almost contemporary with the publication of the *Proposals*, William Maitland, in his

widely read *History of Edinburgh*, was remarking, "Nor is it in this Town deemed mean, to dwell or lodge in the highest Apartments; for even Merchants and Bankers transact their affairs in the third and fourth Stories; and many Persons of Distinction lodge higher."[88]

Whatever the type or age of lodging, in 1746 as in every other era, the rich were well housed and the poor badly housed. Within the old walled city there was a wide range of accommodation, each age of housing having a specific character, within which there were the normal varieties of quality, size, and condition. To assess the validity of the *Proposals'* description, these two main factors need to be established in as much detail as possible; firstly, the essential characteristics of each period, whether these were still acceptable, and to which sectors of the population; and secondly, the upper range of quality, size and condition of houses, and its availability. In this way, the *Proposals'* comments can be seen in context, and their validity confirmed or refuted.

Late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century houses.

As has already been stated, in 1746 the greater part of the town's fabric was between one and two hundred years old[89]. From illustrations, sasines, and descriptions it is clear that these buildings of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century were mainly two or three storeys high (with a very few reaching five). From the few examples left today, and from earlier survey drawings made just before the demolition of others, the original construction, either of stone or, more frequently, stone gabled with timber fronts[90], seems to have been generally massive, structurally over-sized (whether stone or timber), carefully detailed, and of good quality materials. With minimum maintenance, constructions of such quality and simplicity should have had an indefinite life expectancy; for them, the passage of only two hundred years should have had almost no noticeable effect on their fabric. Therefore, most should have been in a fair condition, especially those possessed by the richer members of the population

who could and would have demanded a high level of maintenance. And it does appear to be the case that far from the general disintegration of an exhausted fabric, the town, in fact, experienced only some very localised problems arising almost solely from the actions or inaction of proprietors rather than the soundness of the property. Of the few lands which by 1746 were in a state of decay, waste or ruinous (that is, unused or dilapidated), some had been undermined by their own or adjacent proprietors or burnt out in one of the many small fires, and most had been abandoned, their owners unknown, uninterested or incapable of making repairs, through emigration, multiple inheritance, financial or political disaster. "I ask the court's help..[as it is]..impractical for the petitioner to get the consent of all the parties," wrote the possessor of a tenement by Grayfriars which needed repairs. Of four heirs, one was "under pupillary with no tutor", another was a child living with her father in Cranston, one had a factor in Jordanhill, and the last a residenter living at Monktonhall "but to whom the property belongs the petitioner knows not"[91]. Similar petitions show this to be a common situation; with proprietors unavailable, unwilling, or unable to agree to pay costs, the cost of at least half of all repair work was being declared a "real and preferable" debt on the property in the 1740s and 50s (adding another layer of complication to the pattern of ownership).

Over the years, some fairly drastic alterations had already been made to the original appearance of many sixteenth-century buildings. Their more combustible materials were gradually replaced under a series of Council Acts to limit the risk of fire, from which the city had suffered all too frequently. Thatch was forbidden in new buildings from 1621, and in 1681 all thatched buildings were ordered to be re-roofed with lead, slate, or tile[92]. In 1674, timber fronts either to new or burnt lands were similarly made illegal, and the use of stone became mandatory[93]. Proprietors of existing timber fronts were given financial incentives to rebuild with stone or, at least, with plaster and tile. Some petitions indicate that the Act of 1674, in the way it was being interpreted by the mid-eighteenth century, increased rather than prevented dilapidation. Since timber

outshoots, by then, were generally considered to be a disfigurement to the face of the city, the court inclined to use the Act to encourage their removal. This can be seen in the petition of James Thomson, a merchant in the Grassmarket, whose neighbour was repairing his timber outshoot: it projected five to six feet out from the front, and was, he wrote, "an incroachment and prejudice.." as it obstructed the view of Thomson's shop to the west; the repairs, he argued, were against the Act of Building, (extending its meaning to define the repair of timber outshoots as replacement) and so illegal. His complaint was accepted and Hall, his neighbour was given fourteen days to remove the outshoot, or face a fine of £40 scots[94]. With this sort of precedent, the risk of major expenditure and potential loss of space (if the outshoot were disallowed) must have discouraged all but the most unobtrusive timber repairs.

Of all complaints, the most common were of chimney stack failure and "hungry" walls needing pinned, pointed and harled, internally and externally. With the growth of mutual gables (up to four additional stories) to accomodate the fashion for tall stone blocks in the seventeenth century, chimneys on lower buildings had to be heightened to avoid down draughts etc., and could became unstable. As buildings grew higher the disinclination to inspect roofs regularly (which continues to the present day) grew stronger, and defects which could have been avoided or easily mended were not discovered until major damage had occurred. The same lack of maintenance allowed driven rain into the interior through defective or decayed pointing and harling, causing damp and severe draughts, as in the Foulis Close lodging of Martin Eccles, surgeon, (owned by the Earl of Rosebery) which was, he complained, "intolerably" cold in winter "for want of harling the walls on the outside and fastning and harling the inside of the walls about the window"[95]. However inconvenient, bad pointing was less damaging than untended roofs since the effect was immediate and the occupiers, like Eccles, would have soon pressed for repair, whereas a defective roof could be ignored for a considerable time. Repairs to walls do appear to have been carried out fairly rapidly and there are no complaints of the structural damage which would have

eventually occurred had they not taken place. When structural damage did occur, it appears to have been almost solely due to illicit building work. Both the opening up of new doors or windows in ground floor or laigh shops with insufficient support for the walls above, and the excavation of cellars and undermining of existing foundations without underpinning, caused dangerous weakness and some collapse.

In summary, none of the complaints in the archives relate to poor basic construction, many were due to the inefficient or non-existent supervision of absentee owners' factors, and most were quickly remedied by minor repairs, or the enforced making good of illegal openings.

Since the older building stock, as a whole, appears to have been both sound and well constructed, a major part of the dissatisfaction expressed in the *Proposals* must have been played by its accommodation, layout, and appearance. Given the entirely different arrangement of domestic life in the sixteenth century, it is difficult to make a meaningful comment on house size, as a static number of rooms for the personal and exclusive use of one family or individual with sole control of the entrance or entrances would have to be assumed for comparison. In the sixteenth century, the number of rooms for personal and exclusive (if exclusive had any meaning in terms of the time) use, even of royalty, was minimal - probably no more than a bed chamber and closet. Around this core, other spaces might be needed: for reception in the case of the nobility; for the lodging of retainers, and possibly their families; for cooking, stabling, business, etc.. These may have been part of the "intimate" space, or within the greater physical envelope, or attached to it, or merely close to it, but whatever their position, their possession was far from static; outwith the basic core, as apartments were acquired, sold, rented out, or repossessed as convenient, their number fluctuated wildly.

As far as a "house" is quantifiable, some, originally built at considerable expense, had few but very large apartments, as could be found, for example, in the two-storied building east of Sempill's Close whose,

"entire main floor appeared to have formed originally a single apartment, with a huge fireplace at the west end, and a gallery added to it by the timber projection in front. ...This room was lighted by a large dormer window in the roof in addition to the usual windows in front; and in the thickness of the stone wall, within the wooden gallery, there were two ornamental stone recesses, with projecting sculpted sills, and each closed by an oak door, richly carved with dolphins and other devices"[96],

a layout similar to the fore chamber, gallery, and "chamber of dais," of houses in Oliver's Land[97], and in Hunter's Land[98] [fig. 5]. Owners of these would have made seperate accomodation as needed. Others, with a range of expensively finished apartments as in the Blythe's Close buildings said to be the lodging of Regent Queen Dowager Mary of Guise, and the range at the foot of Blackfriars' Wynd known as Cardinal Beaton's [fig. 6], did not imply the spacious solitary existence of one individual, but rather the possession of a personage whose position required them to accomodate, close to their chambers, a number of persons of only slightly lesser importance. A wide variety in the number and size of apartments could therefore be found, and housing of almost any size could be arranged.

Since both large and small, timber or stone lands with equally rich ornamentation were in existence, within the town neither height nor material seems to have been used at the time to distinguish status [fig. 7].

Whatever their size, construction, and original status, all sixteenth-century buildings had a strongly individual character linked by three fairly consistent factors: within a single building, space was more often divided into self-contained units horizontally by floors, than vertically by walls; within the horizontal division, there was a certain interpenetration of space, ie a vertical or horizontal overlap between the planes of one space and another; and where possible, each level had an individual entrance, a main door starting at street or close level[99] [fig. 8].

Internally, both each space and the use to which it was put flowed from one area to another [fig. 9]. The thickness of stone gables was used as a mass not a plane, and

was carved into by vaulted recesses, guard robes, window seats, secondary stairs, and inglenooks [fig. 10], all forming small back-waters of privacy within the more communal main areas which themselves sometimes overlapped and were rarely separated by a corridor or lobby. By visibly pushing their way through the structural frame, these internal spaces strongly affected the exterior. The result was an asymmetrical, three dimensional facade, whose disparate elements - forestairs, outshoots, stair towers, bartizans - were disciplined, some more successfully than others, into a coherent though informal elevation [fig. 11]. It was this spatial organisation and the construction used to express it which set the aesthetic of sixteenth-century buildings, an aesthetic which today might be defined as "functional". The nature and purpose of the basic structure was openly displayed, still clearly visible even through any finishing[100]. Decorative emphasis, by carving, painting or gilding, was given almost solely to key elements, structural and functional; the first - lintels, brackets, key stones, corbels, dormer heads and skew puts - already needed to be strong, carefully worked materials to take imposed loads or stress, and both their quality and importance to the life of the building was acknowledged by such special treatment; the second category included fireplaces, entrance doors, and niches (as places for objects of value) [fig. 12]. Even the decoration itself could be seen as functional: composed of emblems set within an overall pattern, it conformed to a well known iconography, a common, easily interpreted contemporary language spread throughout Europe by pattern books. Whether chosen at random, or for their obvious message, or for a more personally interpreted meaning, emblems, like islamic calligraphy, were more than decoration[101]. Generally, they were also less than art, varying only in applied craft skill, not in concept or creativity[102] [fig. 13]. Classical motifs were occasionally used, but in an informal way without proportional discipline.

The spatial organisation of sixteenth-century houses strongly affected the social organisation within. The main spaces - hall, gallery, chamber - tended to be arranged consecutively, with no corridor or lobby. This implied a sense of personal privacy set

by social attitude, not physical separation. As was the normal arrangement of the period, these interconnected, multi-functional spaces allowed duties to be tied to an individual not a task, with employer and servant forced into close proximity. At the time of building, this presented no problems as the structure and boundaries of a rigid familial hierarchy were unchallenged and had no need of physical definition.

The relationship to external space was just as significant. Many of the grander mansions ranged around an internal court with a garden behind the side furthest from the street. Such a layout provided a complete, protected environment for the self-sufficient community of a major noble's household, and was defensible against skirmishes and assaults[103]. For these lodgings, as for others less grand, since the buildings themselves were slotted into narrow north-south strips, the use of courts, gardens and variations in height gave east-west light and a high degree of privacy. Due to the steepness of sites, in many buildings every floor up to the third storey could also be level with the ground, on one side at least, and lead directly onto its own outside space. Even higher floors could be reached without leaving private territory, by the varied use of internal and external stairs. "Front and rear" (signifying a difference in importance) were therefore impossible concepts, since any or all sides might have one (or several) "front" doors, and an equal importance but to different levels and owners within the structure. Any level could be used quite fittingly as houses, shops, workshops, or halls, such interchangeable arrangements being possible as almost no task was sufficiently sophisticated to need specialised accommodation. By negotiating rights of way with adjoining proprietors, back lands could make use of a variety of possible entrances from a variety of closes. All these factors added up to a complicated three dimensional pattern of access, layering public and private territory within individual properties. Added to the maze-like quality of the framework, the resulting pattern of ownership was virtually incomprehensible to outsiders, and made local knowledge essential for the location of a specific goal off the public street.

With monarch (or Regent), court and parliament in residence for most of the period of building, many houses displayed an extremely high standard of craftsmanship, and since by 1746, these great aristocrats had left the town, or were only rarely in residence, their emptied houses were more than suitable in size, quality, and condition for the minor nobility and gentry. To a conservative inhabitant, the individual entrance, court, garden, adjacent stabling and offices offered privacy and convenience[104], and the minimal maintenance and physical comfort provided by large fires, small fixed windows, thick walls and doors, would have been of daily advantage. Less suitable, to a class attempting to set a new perception of its own worth outwith the feudal code of values, were the spatial organisation which demanded the acceptance of intrinsic status, and the irregular appearance which had its own strong links to the "fanatick" irrational past. The *Proposals* stated that in former days, the "manners of our peers, of our barons, and chiefs of families, were not formed to brook that equality which prevails in cities". If the writer was suggesting that the aristocracy, secure in its intrinsic feudal status, felt discomfort, how much more so would the minor gentry, the new power structure of Edinburgh, with no accepted mechanism yet evolved to acknowledge the difference they were struggling to achieve? Any status given to Edinburgh's sixteenth-century architecture came from, and departed with its inhabitants; it was not designed to awe or impress in itself, nor was it possible to use it for a public display of importance, nor as a means of differentiating its possessors from their fellows. Not only were the buildings of this period of no help in establishing a new social class from the ranks of the third estate, they positively resisted any attempt to do so.

Late Seventeenth-century Developments

The next discernable layer in Edinburgh's fabric was only sixty to seventy years old, erected during a brief period of enthusiasm for building and rebuilding near the city

centre in the late seventeenth century. Despite severe religious turmoil, political murders, and the execution of numerous Covenanters, the city seems to have profited from the "different, and even opposite manner of living (at least with the royalists) [which] took place"[105] after Charles II's restoration in 1660, particularly during the residence of his brother and heir James, Duke of York, in the early 1680s. With extravagance once more in vogue, the Council grasped the opportunity to lessen fire risk, modernise the High Street frontages as a whole, and re-style the more visible fabric of the city. The resulting developments were both popular and fashionable, generally houses of six to seven fire rooms, kitchen, and cellars[106], in buildings of four to six stories, still, in 1746, almost exclusively occupied by the minor nobility, the gentry, and professionals of means[107].

Two Acts had particularly helped the new development. The first, of 1644, gave magistrates power to demand that proprietors of ruinous or waste houses, empty for seven years, should rebuild within a year of warning, or have their property valued and sold then demolished and rebuilt within a year[108]. The Council seems to have been fairly consistent in ensuring that buildings were made safe, but was less thorough in applying the condition to rebuild, as is demonstrated by the case of a property bought under the Act by James Cathcart of Carbiston, "many years ago", which was still ruinous and being used as a midden and jakes long after the twelve month limit[109]. The second Act, passed in response to a major fire in 1674, dictated that all ruinous, burnt, or new buildings were to be built or rebuilt in stone[110]. Six months after ratification by the Privy Council[111], a survey of waste houses was carried out, thus bringing all such property to notice and forcing owners to rebuild or sell[112].

Builders and private developers (mostly merchants or lawyers) seized the opportunity to speculate in property, buying damaged or ruinous lands from the Council or heritors to improve or rebuild[113]. It had become structurally possible to erect thinner and higher buildings, due to the elimination of timber outshoots as well as an emerging tendency to simplify plans and sections. As the more repetitive floors

inserted into a land made for greater profits (the cost of ground and roof being constant and therefore proportional), new lands were pushed to a height of six or seven stories, with up to another four or five stories of underbuilding at the lower end of the site. (The much quoted Backstairs tenement off Parliament Close was the most extreme example of excessive height - six storeys to the north but, uniquely, thirteen to the south). Such overdevelopment soon became a threat to "good neighbourhood" - potentially dangerous as lower walls were too thin to support the weight of so many storeys, and definitely anti-social as the greatly increased heights blocked the light and view of a considerable number of adjoining properties. Since "the lait buildings upon the high streit especially upon the south side are built soe high that in winter tyme the Inhabitants of the north side hes not benefit of the sune", to stop contractors' excesses, the "Act Regulating the manner of Building within the Town of Edinburgh" of 1698, set a maximum height for new buildings at five stories above the calsay, and approved methods of construction were detailed and made mandatory[114]. Thereafter, the five-storey height limit seems to have been fairly strictly enforced and those breaking it (such as the Milns who were particularly bad offenders[115]), met with both heavy fines and imprisonment.

Only sixty to seventy years old, these buildings should have had few signs of decay, though some defects in pre-1698 work, such as the occasional failure in the thinner and higher load-bearing walls, were beginning to show how necessary the Act had been[116]. Many petitions were for the repair of leaded platforms (some on mansard roofs), an extremely popular short lived style. Here most damage seems to have been caused by stolen rather than failed leadwork, as in Parliament Close where the heritors of Blair's Land complained,

> "That some Wicked and ill disposed persons, have of Late made a Constant practise of gotting up to the roofs of the said tenements and other adjacent thereto in the night time, and of Clandestinely Stealing and Carrying away, a great part of the sheet Lead, wherewith the platforms are covered, and have broken the sclates and tyling Whereby

these tenements ... are exposed to the Rain and Other Injurys of the Weather Thereby the Whole roof is in danger of being ruined, unless speedy remeid is provided"[117].

(Since most platforms were replaced in the 1760s, there is virtually no reference to them outwith the petitions.)

The new residential developments had abandoned almost all of their predecessors' three-dimensional manipulation of space, and a more repetitive and restrictive arrangement, both in and around the properties, had emerged. In the buildings themselves, projections disappeared, walls were compressed to one unbroken plane of minimum thickness, and, as staggered floor levels and ceiling heights were ironed out, volumes became flexible in only the two dimensions of length and breadth. Each house tended to be confined to one storey (also known as flat[118]), and almost all had the same layout as those above and below. Plans as well as sections were simplified. Since these comparatively thin-walled structures could no longer be sculpted into a honeycomb of tiny, more private, areas, each chamber tended to become a single, basic, unambiguous space. Connections between one place and another altered: most rooms within the house were now entered not from each other but from a corridor or lobby, and almost every house within the block was reached not from its own individual outside entrance but from the same common stair. While the turnpike - a spiral which could be entered at any number of different levels without breaking its continuous form - had perfectly answered the particular needs of an organic and defensible structure, its fluid form, adaptability, and defensive quality were inconsistent with the new design. In more fashionable developments, it became replaced by the scale stair, an angular arrangement better fitted both to the general aesthetic and the simplified section. Landings - where the stair's diagonal line abruptly stopped and started at each storey - then formed an ill-defined, abbreviated, buffer zone. In buildings where common territory had moved inwards from the street to the stair, they were all that now stood between the public and private domain. Individual outdoor areas, the small

private courts and gardens which surrounded many older lands, became both unnecessary and less easy to arrange, and most of the new blocks had only one common court through which all proprietors gained entry. Some of the larger developments of Milne were, like older mansions, ranged round the court, and had extensive (but shared) garden ground to the rear. As can be seen from Edgar's map of 1742, these new courts were not significantly larger than the many earlier examples. Rather than letting more light and air into a close knit fabric - a remark of Chambers which is often repeated - due to the height of the new buildings which surrounded them, these courts were almost definitely darker, and probably smellier, than those attached to the earlier two and three-storied buildings.

Plain, almost regular, facades resulted from this reorganisation of space, with a greater vertical repetition of window openings and a minimum of decoration. Emphasis (increasingly classical in character) was put almost solely on the common entrance. Far removed aesthetically from their "organic" predecessors, these fronts were just as far from any classical ideal. The ratio of width to height was set pragmatically by site boundaries and the maximum of five stories allowed by law, which could form a very odd proportion, and, in a few of the earlier examples, the tradition of busy, often crowded, wall-heads continued in some even more proportionally outrageous double dormers and asymmetrical gablets [fig. 14]. Most of the later works sought a simple rectilinearity. Some stair towers came within the envelope, dormers, gablets, and wallhead chimney-stacks began to disappear, and even the diagonal lines of pitched roofs were suppressed by the extensive use of lead platforms, like those on Pitcairly's (1670s) and Blair's Lands (1680s). In the High Street, efforts to achieve a regular frontage resulted in the imposition, by the Council, of a ground floor arcade (or piazza, as it was known) in the design of all new or rebuilt works. This could be seen as an attempt at reconciling the contradictory needs of aesthetics and trade, as the widely varied levels and individualism of shop fronts, the worst enemies of uniformity, remained intact but were screened from view. Disparate facades were

given a degree of visual continuity, and the steady rythmn of repetitive arches slightly enlivened the prevalent severity.

In strong contrast to the generally austere facades, interiors were displaying a sometimes overwhelming exuberance: plasterwork grew heavy and deep moulded; carved woodwork and wrought ironwork were equally elaborate [fig. 15]. Thick encrustations covered ceilings, and in the most ornate designs, flowed down walls to surmount fireplaces, doorways, and niches, totally concealing the structure and construction behind their decorative surfaces - a "perfect" aesthetic, detached from structural function, laid over what might be seen as the "imperfections" of natural forces.

Such an organisation of space, dissimilar in almost every respect to its predecessor, allowed and sometimes imposed a different way of life on its inhabitants. Each household had formerly been an independent and individual physical entity within the structural frame, though internally its parts may have been less well defined. In the new developments, particularity of form was transferred from the now anonymous house, exactly the same as its neighbours, to the parts of its interior, each room a simple, separate space, reached by a neutral corridor. Former ambiguities of definition and function were gradually being eradicated and rooms could be allocated exclusively to certain persons and tasks. At the expense of privacy and individuality of household, both the possible segregation of its separate members and a kind of visible communal identity were gained. This type of planning dictated a new closeness to neighbours within a block, and led to more careful vetting of co-tenants by status and a more immediate need to ensure common maintenance standards - indeed some developments established their own residents' associations.

Given their comparative modernity and certain gentility, it might be thought surprising that it was not the older "organic" buildings nor the less expensive lodgings, but these fashionable dwellings, overwhelmingly occupied by professionals and minor gentry, which, in 1752, most closely fitted the *Proposals*'s complaints - the ones which

reached *"a height which is almost incredible"*, which contained *"many families, sometimes no less than ten or a dozen ...* [living] *overhead of each other in the same building"*, and which had *"a common stair ... in effect ... an upright street"*. Since they were well cared for, large, expensively decorated, and socially selective, it may be asked why they should be singled out as the subject of complaint? Though more formal than their predecessors, late seventeenth-century developments had neither their individuality and privacy, nor the regularity of later English Georgian models. Built at a time when, as Hugo Arnot writes, it "became a matter of policy with the government to encourage any circumstance which could mark the distinction of ranks"[119], they could be interpreted as the first stage of withdrawal from the interdependent city layout (excluding the mansions of the nobility most of which had always been set apart, around or within their own ground), but had won only half way to separation from the rest of the population at the expense of even greater enforced closeness to immediate neighbours, however well selected.

Early Eighteenth-century Houses

Newish houses in 1746, built within the previous twenty years, were largely of two types. The first, in the centre of town, followed the Milne's Square precedent - the five story block such as James Court (1723-7), containing a dwelling to each flat approached by a common stair, with extremely plain facades. The second type, a sprinkling of which appeared on the south edge within or just outside the wall, was the small villa. Advertised as a "house in itself", the standard villa had a definable front and rear, a symmetrical plan, separate servants' circulation, and generally conformed to a notion of classical proportion. The more elaborate, where a classical prototype was almost recognisable, were, with the exception of the Duke of Douglas's house in Bristo, for the minor nobility and gentry - the 13th Lord Ross[120] (post 1738), Lord Minto, Lord Covington[121] - all holders of government posts, and prominent members of the new

institutional network [fig. 16]. Physical privacy, individuality, and independence from the rest of the interconnected fabric had been gained.

Major Buildings

Major public works, being usually housed in the largest, most emphasised, or most expensive buildings in the city, have always demanded an outlay far greater than almost any private enterprise. Usually beyond the personal means of any except the most plutocratic individual, their cost must therefore be gathered by bequests, subscriptions, or from the public purse. To merit such expenditure, such prominent treatment, any public work is likely to be devoted only to causes which are highly valued by the faction which possesses or controls the wealth held within the community, and which are generally supported by other groups of influence. Thus they could be assumed to most closely reflect the predominant social concerns of the community as a whole, as represented by the leaders of its organisation. By the same argument, activities which are given less prominent and less costly accommodation are likely to be those seen as being of lesser value and concern.

By noting the cost of new public buildings relative to each other, and to domestic buildings of the same period, it should be possible firstly, to highlight which activities were regarded as having comparative importance or unimportance within their own period, and secondly, should an activity be seen by one period as deserving accommodation more prominent than that which it formerly possessed during a previous era, to observe any change in public aims and concerns.

Edinburgh, like any other long established capital city, had a great many public buildings inherited from different eras of its existence. In the *Proposals*, some of these were included as worthy of notice, some were ignored, and some new, more prominent accommodation was demanded for certain of the city's activities;

> "If the parliament house, the churches, and a few hospitals be excepted, what other have we to boast of? There is no exchange for our merchants; no safe repository for our public and private records; no place of meeting for our magistrates and town council; none for the convention of our boroughs, which is entrusted with the inspection of trade."

From the starting point of the additions and omissions in this work, so closely tied to the interests of the new post-'45 administration, the public buildings remaining from each period shall be considered in turn, first in relation to their original function and appearance, then in relation to the value now being awarded to these social and architectural aspects by the writer of the *Proposals*, a estimation which, implicitly, was shared by his supporters and the controlling group he represented.

Pre-Sixteenth Century

As has already been mentioned, little had survived the ravages of the sixteenth century. Both the Abbey and the High Kirk of St. Giles were still in existence - religious buildings of high quality in structure, mass and craftsmanship - but both, the Abbey in particular, had been damaged and altered to satisfy changing religious beliefs [fig. 17]. Trinity College Kirk, founded by James II's wife Mary of Gueldres (c.1460), also remained [fig. 18]. Though unfinished, it was another extremely sophisticated work, and formed the centre of a group dating mainly from the fifteenth century at the eastern end of the Nor Loch. Just to the south lay its College, which had been converted to a Hospital in the late sixteenth century at roughly the same time as the original Hospital had been demolished (founded in 1461 for thirteen of the city's poor, it had faced the College on the opposite, east side of Leith Wynd)[122]. By the mid-eighteenth century the Hospital held fifty-three men and women. Paul's Wark, also at the east foot of the wynd, had begun in 1479 as a foundation for twelve poor men, but by 1619, it had evolved into a charity for instructing poor boys and girls in the making of woollen

stuffs. In addition to the dwelling houses, offices, and a hall for disposing of goods provided earlier, in 1681, the Council commissioned,

> "an wouline or lining manufactory..[as the]..houses of Paul's Wark were erected for the use of a Manufactorie for the incouradgement both of trade in this place of the kingdome and for the training up and educating of many idle young persons and therby frieing the City and high streets of many boyes and lasses whoe constantly molests and troubles the leidges by begging upon the same..."[123]

Its use had not changed by 1746; the children were given training in weaving, reading, writing, and arithmetic, and £5 sterling on completing the apprenticeship[124].

Both Trinity Hospital and Paul's Wark were simple, low, irregular structures, soundly built but with no attempt to give importance or decorative emphasis to their exteriors, though the spatial arrangement and internal finishing of the Hospital at least was of high quality [fig. 19].

The other major pre-sixteenth century work, the east block of the Tolbooth, the city's prison, dated from the 1430s, and may have been originally a collegiate building attached to St. Giles[125]. Its ashlar facade was richly carved, but its interior, whatever the original quality, by 1746 had been totally subsumed by its current use [fig. 20]: two upper floors were for felons, the condemned chained to a bar, the first floor main hall (27 by 20 feet, and 12 feet high) was free to all except the felons and also acted as a chapel, captain's room and counting house, and on the ground floor were shops, lock up, and the turnkey's house[126].

While the Hospital and Paul's Wark were merely disregarded in the *Proposals*, the Tolbooth, as will be discussed later, was positively detested.

Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Century

Since the greater part of the city had been rebuilt in the sixteenth century, many of

the major buildings were of that date. Most were still used for the same purpose, though the way that purpose was carried out was changing.

All the ports in the City wall, with the exception of the Netherbow (rebuilt in 1606) [fig. 21], dated from the sixteenth century[127]. They continued to act, as they had from the later middle ages, principally as guarded customs barriers. The Council still met in the high hall of the Council House (also called the new Tolbooth), a small building of 1564 greatly overshadowed by the High Kirk and Parliament House. This hall was said to have been occupied also by the College of Justice and Parliament till the completion of Parliament House[128], and the laigh hall, which had accommodated gatherings such as "the Commissione of the Kirk and other Judicators" in 1685[129], was, by 1752, used as the Armoury. It was highly decorated, and oak panelled on walls and ceiling, the walls with at least one, and probably all, panels containing portraits, and the ceiling panels, "with rich pendants from their centres and finished with emblazonry and gilding"[130]. While the bulk of the city's tolbooth was of later date, the tolbooth in Canongate (a separate burgh with its own court and prison), was made up of a tower dating from the 1590s, and an east block from the same or slightly later time[131]. The Correction house, adjacent to Paul's Wark, was built in 1632.

Both the College and High School of the city, equally renowned, had been founded in the latter part of the century. The High School (1578), took boys of nine years from all over Scotland for a five year broad education based on the teaching of latin grammar and a little greek[132]. By 1753 there were 156 boys, many more than originally intended, and efforts to adapt and expand the accommodation - including the raising of the wall head in 1722 - had already been made [fig. 22]. The College (1582) now catered for between 500 and 800 students from Scotland and Europe, entering at thirteen or fourteen years. Its reputation, particularly that of the medical school under Drummond's encouragement, was expanding;

"...all the liberal Arts and Sciences are taught here, in the same Manner as in the most

> celebrated Universities abroad each Professor confining himself to the teaching of one Science; the several Sorts of which taught at present are, Divinity, Church History, Civil Law, Law of Nature and Nations, Scottish Law, Anatomy, Theory of Physic, Practice of Physic, Chemistry, Botany Mathematics, Universal History, Natural Philosophy, Logick, Metaphysicks, Ethicks, Greek, Latin, and Hebrew Languages."[133]

Formed round three courts, the buildings ranged in age from Hamilton house, rebuilt in the mid-sixteenth century, College hall (1616), student accommodation (1669), together with Professors' houses and minor additions of later years [fig. 23]. Heriot's Hospital, another major educational establishment, though begun in 1628, was not opened as a school until 1659, and not completed till much later in the century, so will therefore be considered in the next section.

All the buildings of the period, except the Netherbow Port, however richly decorated inside, had unassuming exteriors. Most were having to respond to changed needs, either because of the increasing number of people who used them, which was the case with the High School and College, or, as happened with the Tolbooths and Ports, because the public perception of their function had altered over the years. Many had changed in use, or had gathered other uses besides the original one: some former mansions had become offices, such as the Bank of Scotland in Gourlay's Land[134] and the Board of Excise in Merchants' Court[135] [fig. 24]. The Magdalene chapel, finished by 1544[136], was a religious foundation which became the Hammermen's hall in the early seventeenth century (just before the erection of its tower), and by the mid-eighteenth century it was also the meeting place for the Convention of Royal Burghs [fig. 25]. The former Mint buildings (lintel dated 1574) had been converted into lodgings for those such as the Countess of Stair, and now formed part of a wealthy enclave south-west of the Netherbow[137].

These major sixteenth-century buildings, in their layout, use of space, and style, exhibited the same essential characteristics as the minor lands. They shared the same adaptability to different use and reuse within the same shell. All were disregarded by

the *Proposals*, and even the Council house and Magdalene chapel went unacknowledged.

Mid to Late Seventeenth Century

The buildings recognised as "adornments" in the *Proposals* were the national and civic works of the mid to late seventeenth century; Heriot's Hospital (1628-c1700), Parliament House (1632-1640), and the Tron (1636-47), Lady Yester's (1644-47) and the Canongate (1689-91) kirks.

By 1746, Parliament House, redundant after 1707, had filled with the Bailies' and Sheriff Court, the advocates' library, and was also used for storing the Maiden (guillotine), gallows, and public stage etc [fig. 26]. Its sister building to the south, the Treasury, contained the Exchequer Office in its upper part, the Chancery and Commissary Courts in the middle, the Court of Session in the lower part, with the national archives below. The rest of Parliament Close, which had been rebuilt in the 1680s[138], and again after a great fire of 1700, contained large houses[139] and other public offices: the Stamp and Linen Office (est. 1727) were on the east side, in the same stair as the unsuccessful upper Exchange, "a large room full of shops"; a little to its east was the Post Office (1710), in the largest private building in the city; and in the east row of the close was the Custom House[140]. Even larger and much grander in intent than Parliament House was the palatial bulk of Heriot's Hospital [fig. 27]. A private not a civic undertaking, it was built at the bequest of George Heriot, a city goldsmith favoured by James VI, who died in 1624. In preference to the original intention to adapt part of Heriot's property in the city's centre, his trustees chose a site on the southmost edge, where the design, said to resemble the plan of a palace illustrated in Serlio's Seventh Book of Architecture (c.1550)[141], could command the view of all south of the High Street. A "work fitter for the antient Romans than the petty Feoffees in Trust for so small a Fund; and more proper for the Residence of ... a great King than

the Habitation of a few poor and needy orphans"[142], the hospital had a visual exhibitionism and obtrusive approach unique and uncharacteristic of its own or any previous time in the city's existence.

Unlike the large residential developments, the facades of Heriot's and Parliament house were richly ornamented, with elaborately carved window and door surrounds, dials strewn on skew puts and window ledges, the wall-head parapet pierced and crenellated, and the margins emphasised. Little ogee roofed corner turrets perched stiffly on leaded platforms, a formal roofscape cut off from the rectangular block on which it sat by the severe horizontal line of the wall-head.

Of the four kirks built during the period, the Tron (John Milne, mason) [fig. 28] was one of two churches to be built at the insistence of Charles I, to accommodate some of the congregations previously crammed into the High Kirk (the other, in Castlehill, was started then demolished); the Canongate Kirk (James Smith, mason) [fig. 29] was commissioned when James VII commandeered the nave of Holyrood Abbey, used until then as burgh church, for other purposes; Greyfriars [fig. 30] opened in 1620, was rebuilt and extended by 1721 after the first building was damaged in an accidental explosion; only Lady Yester's was a completely new foundation. Whereas in other cultures religious buildings often exemplify aesthetic trends and are indicative of the wealth of the community, this is not the case in seventeenth-century Scotland. The tenets of Scottish Presbyterianism encouraged the plainness which can be seen in Lady Yesters, Canongate, and Greyfriars, as an indication not of lack of interest but of austerity of belief. (Greyfriars, though outwith the period is included due to closeness in style.) The Tron, though for a kirk uniquely ornate and almost mannerist in design, was, in particular contrast to Heriot's, slipped unassumingly into a central position in the city's framework.

Civic buildings supporting public order and the economy had become essential during the period, but were given little architectural recognition. For added control over permanent or temporary inhabitants, firstly a cruder west block had been added

to the Tolbooth in 1610, then again in 1678[143]. As an all too public reminder of certain justice and retribution (hangings later took place from the platform roof of its two-storied wing), its effect was subverted by frequent escapes particularly of the more well-connected prisoners. Conditions were undoubtedly grim: "such is the change of manners, that it is now unfit for any of these purposes [for which it was originally intended]" - that is, the accommodation of the parliament and courts of justice, and the confinement of debtors and malefactors - wrote Hugo Arnot in 1780[144]. Both Tolbooth and adjacent Luckenbooths (late seventeenth century) were a mixture of shops, taverns, loosely controlled debtors barracks, and rooms for condemned felons. In 1632, a Correction house, where, "Vertew micht be advancit, Vyce suppressit, and ydill People compellit to betake themselffis to sum Vertew and Industrie.." was opened in the two eastmost houses on the south side of Paul's Wark[145]. Lastly, in 1687, the timber Guard House by the Tron was rebuilt in "stone asler work" and re-roofed, partly in lead (to reduce the height)[146] [fig. 31].

Markets, though of primary social and economic importance were completely utilitarian. Famine and therefore rioting during bad harvests were a regular occurrence; simple undecorated enclosures protected basic commodities, allowing the council to regulate prices and control distribution. (Corn was also the basis of financial exchange.) The Fleshmarkets (1681)[147], Meal market (1701)[148], and Cornmarket (1717)[149] [fig. 32], were all enclosed and partially covered spaces round a central court[150]. A new Fishmarket was set up in what had been the old Cornmarket at the foot of Niddrys Wynd, though the old Fishmarket continued to operate in Fishmarket Close. The Weigh House [fig. 33], razed by Cromwell in 1650[151], was rebuilt in 1660, "far inferior to the former condition"[152].

Though prisons and markets were vitally important to the community, true importance, as far as it warranted public emphasis in external decoration, was acknowledged only in God and the government, (and even their buildings, in the age of the Covenant, were restrained in their outward show). Heriot's display was

therefore not just an anomaly but a shocking presumption, and it aroused a repugnance strong enough to be still felt even in the less austere 1750s. Only in death did the seventeenth-century individual allow him or herself an extravagant degree of outward show, as can be appreciated, for instance, in the spectacular monuments still to be seen in Greyfriars burial ground. Even here no inconsistency in attitude arose, for the honour lay, in principle, with the deity, and each catalogue of worldly successes was hedged with suitable reminders of mortality, and the vanity of pomp. As Thomas Bannatine's Monument of 1635 [fig. 34] instructs:

> "O that Men were wise, to know the Multitude of these that are to be damned; the Paucity of those that are to be saved; and the Vanity of Transitory Things; to understand Evil committed, good Things omitted, and the Loss of Time; to foresee the Danger of Death, the last Judgement, and eternal Punishment."

Early Eighteenth Century

Public works of the early eighteenth century might be said to embody the practical side of rational Scottish humanism. Almost without exception the most expensive buildings to be erected in its first fifty years were for the benefit of the weakest and most vulnerable members of society - an infirmary for the sick, work houses for the unemployed, refuges for the poor and orphaned, and schools for the indigent. All these works were not only demanded by the inhabitants, but were supported willingly and generously by private contributions. While in no way denigrating this remarkable concern for the general welfare, charity was a simpler and probably more satisfying virtue to practice at the time than in later years. Because of the city's closed nature, a division could be made between the weak of the community, and the weak not of, and therefore not the responsibility of, the community. The moral imperative to care for others could therefore be limited to a tolerable and almost achievable level: the recipients were much fewer, the giving more personal, and the result more direct.

When Edinburgh's fiercely guarded position as national capital brought certain wider responsibilities, these were more grudgingly accepted with frequent attempts to shift or at least to share the heavy financial load.

Firstly, four schools were founded for the needy children of burgesses, by charitable bequest and donation. George Heriot's Hospital established in 1629 for the sons of freemen (which has already been discussed), was joined by the Trades Maidens' Hospital of 1704, for daughters of tradesmen as its name suggests, and George Watson's Hospital of 1734, for the sons of gentlemen [figs 35, 36]. All three were accommodated in new buildings designed for one specific purpose. The fourth, the Merchant Maidens' Hospital, had been founded in 1695 for the daughters of merchant burgesses, and was housed in a large, existing building adapted to the needs of the school[153] [fig. 37]. Girls at the Merchant and Trades Maiden Hospitals were taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, but the emphasis was firmly on domestic skills. Both ran schemes by which girls on leaving were given a share of the profits from goods made during their stay. Both had approximately forty pupils. Heriot's, with 136 pupils in 1742, and Watson's, with roughly 24 in 1746, taught reading, writing, accounts, music, and the rudiments of latin. Boys were accepted at seven or eight years, and by eleven usually went on to an apprenticeship with fees paid by the hospital[154]. In both foundations, boys of sufficient promise could be sent on to the High School, and then to the College with their fees paid by the governors[155].

The education of all the young, stressed in Knox's "Book of Discipline" seems to have been still an accepted duty (however imperfectly executed). For children who were not given a place, or who were outwith the categories of candidate accepted by the four hospitals, minimal skills in reading, spelling, and a little counting, were taught (usually by a precentor from one of the city kirks) in two free Schools, also funded by bequests and charitable donations. For the rest, instruction in reading, writing, spelling, counting, as well as some more advanced classes, was supplied by English or Lecture Schools, all licensed and inspected by the Kirk and Council. For pupils with means,

in addition to the two High Schools, a number of private schools, including boarding and day schools for girls, offered either basic or special subjects - mathematics, modern languages, accounting, cooking, needlework etc. - or both. Accommodation was within the house of the head teacher, owned or rented, sometimes with Council assistance[156].

The next two undertakings were not just civic but national works. In 1733, the Orphan Hospital was founded to better the "unhappy and deplorable condition of many poor helpless orphans and distressed infants of indigent parents" [fig. 38]. By 1744 it contained seventy boys and sixty girls, learning reading, writing, and in particular, linen weaving, wool carding, combing and spinning. Inspected regularly by a board of councillors and ministers, the mortality rate was low and the conditions exceptionally good in the contemporary context[157]. Five years later, from,

> "a due Sense of the Misery that many poor Persons in Scotland were reduced to by Poverty and Sickness who, though not incurable were in no Condition to maintain themselves when under Cure, even when Physicians and Chirugeons, charitably disposed, were inclined to assist them with their Skill and Medecines gratis...."[158],

an Infirmary (1738) was begun at the other side of town [fig. 40, 41]. The cost of this building, again designed for its specific purpose, was met by national collection; money, goods and services were all donated and free attendance and medicine were provided by physicians and surgeons.

Lastly, after only another five year pause, the "legal" poor - those who were too sick, too maimed, too old, or too young to support themselves by work and who would otherwise have starved - were provided with food and shelter in a new Charity Workhouse (1743), "in a frugal, decent, and cleanly Manner, insomuch that many of the said Poor, who at first despised the House, have since gladly accepted of the Benefit"[159] [fig. 39]. Though its motive was not entirely altruistic - as a "house of detention" it also cleared the streets of illegal beggars and potential troublemakers - the

aid to the inmates was more positive, and much less demeaning than its infamous nineteenth-century equivalents. Those capable of work were given it, as taylors, shoemakers, gardeners, masons, and wrights, some taught children to read, some made linen and woollen goods, and others assisted the brewer. The children themselves, kept in separate houses from the adults, were taught the principles of religion, useful trades such as spinning and weaving, and to read and write[160], and their care and education seems to have been monitored fairly conscientiously. By 1750, the Workhouse had acquired the former Bedlam, a "beautiful edifice of ashlar" of the 1690s, and converted it into an infirmary for its own use. (A new building containing twenty-one cells for lunatics, and an apartment for a House of Correction, had been erected to the north of the Workhouse in 1746[161].) These were the city's poor through birth or residence, part, however unfortunate, of the community, and their treatment and conditions were, if sparing, relatively humane. In contrast, the transient occupants of the Correction house, who had been rejected either by the town or another burgh, were treated harshly and intermittently unloaded onto their former parishes or the West Indies or American colonies[162].

A few smaller and slightly earlier works had also been erected. The Canongate had its own High School, with about half the number of pupils of its better known counterpart. These were housed at Canongatehead in a building of 1704, constructed after its predecessor burnt down. The English Chapel, a plain building founded by Baron Smith in 1722 on the Cowgate corner of St. Marys Wynd, was the only purpose-built place of worship for dissenters. Other denominations held meetings in a variety of houses or rented halls. Both medical fraternities - the College of Physicians (established in 1681), and the College of Surgeons (established in 1506) - moved to new halls at the turn of the century: the first in Fountain Close next to the Marquis of Tweedale's property; the second, in contrast to the rest of this group, erected its Hall - a detached building of 1697 - on open ground in the south-east corner of town, off the south side of High School Yards [fig. 42]. Despite being near the centre of town, the

Canongate High School and the Physicians' Hall, like Surgeons' Hall, had large garden grounds.

All the later buildings were large and formal, detached from the structure and fabric of the earlier town and isolated in their own grounds: the new Infirmary, lay on open ground between the College and High School just west of the large garden of Surgeons' Hall; the Charity Workhouse was even further west, by Greyfriars and Heriots, with the three other Hospitals in close proximity. All were on the south of the city. Only the Orphan Hospital lay on the north, built by the ruins of an old castle in the large open grounds by the College Kirk. As has been previously remarked in the case of Heriots', all were perceived by the public to be works whose function had no claim to any particular mark of status. That in some sections, this view was changing was expressed in the finishing of the Infirmary. At the outset, its architect William Adam's brief was for a building "solid and erected of the most durable materials, not slovenly yet that very little or no expense should be paid in useless ornament"[163]. This was later amended when some contributors specifically demanded additional decoration on the central section as "the middle Part of the House is more properly a College than an Hospital, and as the whole must in Time prove the Glory of this Country"[164]. Apart from this one case of special pleading and Heriot's, which could be seen as its trustees' eccentric whim, all the others had very plain classical facades.

Internally, as well as externally, a rigorous symmetry was observed. Rooms were tightly designed to accommodate particular tasks, and were ordered in a strictly disciplined sequence which allowed little if any variation. In the previous century, importance had lain in the task (eg teaching or acting) and therefore, for however short a time, wherever the task took place adopted its status (eg became the school, the theatre). The specialised nature of this group of buildings suggests that the emphasis was being removed from the task itself, and put onto the way it was performed, and that a rigid decorum was beginning to form round certain activities[165].

Conclusion

The city in 1746 was not the towering, cramped, decaying and overcrowded slum of popular myth, but it did have a framework and fabric which by their very form made the personal and public aspirations of a new social order very difficult to achieve. It depended for its ordering on an acceptance and knowledge of the intrinsic status of each of its citizens. It supported a burgess monopoly, and encouraged the interdependence of its inhabitants. It gave little opportunity for outward display and none for the physical separation of the inhabitants into groups, either for purposes of social segregation or for their control by outside forces. Until the eighteenth century, no-one below "King Jesus and his silly vassal" had accommodation obviously differentiated from the rest of fabric.

The *Proposals* pamphlet was not an impartial analysis: its text was persuasive, and as can be seen, not necessarily factual; it was designed to attract support, to sell an idea; it pursued only lines of argument thought likely to have greatest appeal to prospective supporters, and cause least opposition from others. It adopted classicist rules of beauty inappropriate to the historic fabric, and by which the city was bound to fail, and to fail badly in aesthetic terms. Edinburgh, said the pamphleteer, was overwhelmingly deficient in situation, conveniency and beauty, "not the least considerable" causes of prosperity. Therefore in his eyes, the city was seen as being inconvenient and ugly, its only advantages the "healthfulness of its situation, and its neighbourhood to the Forth. But", demands the pamphleteer, "how greatly are these [advantages of situation] overbalanced by other disadvantages almost without number?".

Advantage or disadvantage, convenience or inconvenience, are not aesthetic choices, they imply comparison to an ideal environment designed around a particular and not a universal way of life. The convenience being advocated, if particular to one section of the population, could just as effectively run counter to the style of living and

therefore the advantage of other of the inhabitants. The writer's intent was clear;

> "In these cities, [Turin and Berlin] what is called the new town, consists of spacious streets and large buildings, which are thinly inhabited, and that too by strangers chiefly, and persons of considerable rank; while the old town, though not near so commodious is more crowded than before these later additions were made."

The changes being recommended were for the environmental benefit of the few, "strangers chiefly, and persons of considerable rank", though it was also suggested that these would result in the economic benefit of the many. The environmental benefit of the many was not under consideration, "men of professions and business of every kind, will still incline to live in the neighbourhood of the exchange, of the courts of justice, and other places of public resort". The town as a stronghold for its burgesses and their trade monopoly to the direct benefit to the inhabitants, was being rejected for the town as a centre of "the chief objects of pleasure and ambition", designed for visitors, whose spending power would enrich burgesses, to the putative indirect benefit of all of its inhabitants.

The main thrust of the *Proposals'* argument was not that the town was inadequate per se, but that it was unfitting for the demands of a changing economy based on outsiders rather than insiders, visitors rather than burgesses. It was not inadequate physically, but inadequate in terms of the new aims of the controlling group. The perception of the *Proposals*, that the old environment, lacking all pretensions to "beauty and convenience", was why "so many local prejudices, and narrow notions, inconsistent with polished manners and growing wealth, are still so obstinately retained" echoes the assumption set out in the Introduction, that a certain aesthetic, expressed in spacial organisation and stylistic preference can be perceived as reinforcing certain social organisations and aspirations, and therefore as weakening others. In such a case, should social needs and aspirations change, the existing spatial organisation and stylistic interpretation may become antipathetic to the new aspirations

and needs. The author of the pamphlet's belief that, "The institution of our government is now different: our manners must be different also. A nation cannot at this day be considerable, unless it be opulent", was to be repeated, with different emphasis but clearer social implications by Adam Ferguson,

> "[when] We transfer the idea of perfection from the character to the equipage .. the minds of men become perplexed with the discernment of merit"[166]

CHAPTER 3.

"Local Prejudices and Narrow Notions", 1746 -1760.

The views expressed in the *Proposals* were not necessarily held by all the inhabitants. But after a gap of two hundred and fifty years, support has to be judged not by opinions, which can only be guessed, but by actions, immediately before and after publication. The inhabitants' concerns, that is, what changes were being demanded, which parts of the environment were being altered, why, where and by whom, are recorded in the archives of the Dean of Guild court by whom all building work had to be approved. In the following chapter, results from a survey of all remaining petitions between 1746 and 1760 are presented.

In this era, the political, economic and social background was far from static. Before discussing the evidence of petitions, simultaneous changes in the organisation of Scottish society are briefly outlined to clarify, by putting into the context of the period, the roles and positions of those paying for and living in new buildings.

The Changing Context

Shortly after the government's decisive victory at Culloden, most indications of change summarised in Chapter One were confirmed. One of the first of the government's objectives was to eradicate the last remnants of the Scottish feudal system which had been deeply implicated in the rising's support and organisation. Taking advantage of all Scottish political factions' post-war impotence and unhindered by the united opposition of all major Scottish landowners (including Islay), the London government began cutting off the source of its influence: military tenures (1746), and heritable jurisdictions except high constable (1747), were abolished; independent

baronies went too and their holders were compensated[167]; baron courts lost most of their power, and all records were handed over to the reorganised and strengthened Sheriff courts. By the 1750s, the nobility - the first estate - had been shorn of nearly all its legal power over the other orders, though its economic and social power were virtually untouched. The status attached to its order still superseded all others, but the foundation of that status, its automatic rights by birth over the rest of the population were now much fewer, and rested mainly in the heritable ownership of land, the mainstay of employment, food, and shelter for vast numbers of the population.

This dismembering of feudalism strongly affected the other orders. The legal establishment, in the "conflict between private right and public good"[168], were the aristocracy's allies in protection of their own rights as well as those of their major clients. Scots feudal law was the Court of Session's special preserve. Its superior knowledge had already been exercised with "malicious pleasure" to thwart Exchequer barons[169], and was now employed to hinder government legislation. In contrast to the law, which was firmly backing accustomed practice and traditional values, control of the church was won by the new faction, who linked their fortune not to the socially and politically distant aristocracy, but to the more achievable heights of their own middle rank of society - the lesser gentry and professionals. To the *Moderates*, the new breed of ministers, alliances formed to overthrow the more traditional faction, the *Highflyers*, were an opportunity to combine church politicking with social advancement; one of the more prominent stating in his autobiography that the,

> "..occasional union of some of the young clergymen with young lawyers and other elders of rank had another happy effect, for it made them well acquainted with each other ... Till this period the clergy of Scotland, from the Revolution downwards, had in general been little thought of, and seldom admitted into liberal society, one cause of which was, that in those days a clergyman was thought profane who affected the manners of gentlemen, or was much seen in their company."[170]

In the fore-front of this *Moderate* "union" were George Drummond, his son-in-law John Jardine, organiser of Moderates' ranks, Master of Ross, Gilbert Elliot junior of Minto, Andrew Pringle[171] advocate, Hugh Blair[172] (future Professor of Rhetoric), William Robertson[173] (future Principal of the College), and John Home (author of "Douglas")[174]. Excepting the Master of Ross[175], the "elders of rank" were not of the nobility but from the class of merchants and professionals aspiring to leadership of Edinburgh society. A decisive victory over their opponents was won at the 1752 Assembly when the *Moderates* secured the rights of heritors (mostly small proprietors) over congregations in the battle of church patronage[176].

Town Councils, the sphere of influence of the Merchant Company and Trade Incorporations, were repelling very similar threats (or promises) of change with a fair amount of ease. Voting rights and freeholder rolls had been reformed in 1743 with heavy penalties for malpractice, but these reforms were weak in effect and did not directly affect the Edinburgh electoral system[177]. Nonetheless, they did indicate that blatantly corrupt practices were becoming less acceptable. In 1746, an attempt was made to force the Council itself to conform to the United Kingdoms' constitution, "where the people are represented and governed by their own choice"[178], but this worthy though optimistic aspiration (given the strength of the entrenched power base) was disregarded. However impervious to attempts to force change from outside its ranks, the Council was more vulnerable when its very core, the merchant fraternity itself, began to alter in nature. A new financially based "aristocracy" with hitherto unimaginable influence was being created from the stranglehold which Glasgow-based merchants had achieved on the tobacco trade between 1740 and 1760. This was of such extraordinary importance to the national economy that in the wars with France from 1744-48 and 1756-63, special arrangements were made by both sides to allow the trade to continue through the hostilities, and the Dutch allies were informed ".. that the ships involved in carrying such tobaccos having his Majesty's pass may not be interrupted in their voyage.."[179]. In contrast, the unprotected east coast merchants found it nearly

impossible to ship their less significant cargo, and suffered what would be permanent decline of their trade. From the tobacco traders' vast profits, funding became available for the exploitation of new processes, and small domestic industries were enabled to expand to satisfy the captive market for linen and other goods formed by colonists, indebted to tobacco merchants under the factorage system[180]. Similtaneously, the banking system was becoming increasingly sophisticated, and with capital circulating relatively freely for the first time in Scotland, by 1760, twenty private banks had been established. In Edinburgh, this new type of merchant burgess, whose source of wealth owed little to the city or its inhabitants, was epitomised by William Alexander, one of the leading tobacco merchants and purchasing agent for the French Farmers General. Having founded his wealth on the trade, Alexander then established an influential banking house, he became the first merchant director of the Royal Bank in the 1730s, and in 1754, he was appointed Provost and Member for the city (his two sons both became Councillors). He now represented the new players in the accustomed closed round of burgh politics.

Another of the new banks owed its foundation more directly to colonial trade. The British Linen Company, which started as the Edinburgh Linen Company in the late 1730s, in 1746, received a royal charter, increased subscribed capital funds from England, and the wider aim of promoting American and African trade by extending credit to manufactories, and in 1750 it began issuing notes. Since the previous century, linen manufacture had been given special treatment as the "staple", main hope of improving the Scottish economy. Now that export demand was growing, the next logical step was to give even greater encouragement to production. This was effected in an Act of 1750[181] which had far reaching implications to burgess' monopoly, that basis of civic organisation. The formerly most protected interest was ignored, tight community control forcibly opened up, and residential qualification overset. It stated;

"...that every maker of heckles, spinning wheels, reels, weaving looms and weaving

> reeds, and also every weaver or manufacturer of linen flaxen or hempen cloth, or heckle or dresser of flax and hemp, shall and may and is hereby authorised to exercise the said respective trades within any city, town, corporation, burgh or place in Scotland, **without any let or hindrance from any person or persons whatsoever, and without being chargeable or charged with payment of any entry money or other duty whatsoever,** for or in respect of their following such trade or business" (*my emphasis*),

This ruling set a precedent which only a drastically changed view of society's economic and social organisation could have allowed. When describing a built environment still familiar, still in use, the chasm between norms of society which inhabited it then and today are too easily forgotten. For a tightly closed burghal society, which Edinburgh still was, control over its members right to follow a trade, to earn a living, stood at the very heart of its existence. Inclusion in the community was a measure of physical and economic security, and expulsion from it could still be used as, and was presumably felt to be, a severe punishment: Isobel Kilgour, guilty of putting her three week old child out to die on a sand bank on Leith Links, was whipped through the city, banished from Scotland for life, and sentenced to be transported to America if she returned[182]; another woman was "drummed thro Canongate bareheaded with a Rope about her Neck for stealing Linen Cloaths from Calton Hill then banished the Priviledges under pain of whipping..[if she returned]"[183] - a milder version for a milder crime. Thus the implications of opening this strong branch of trade, freeing it from civic control were potentially enormous.

By the *Proposals* argument, the "unimproved" environment should have been a disadvantage to trade and manufacture, learning and the arts, and an encouragement of "supineness". This was evidently not the case in trade and manufacture. Even the pamphlet itself stated that,

> "...since the year 1746, when the rebellion was suppressed, a most surprising revolution has happened ....Husbandry, manufactures, general commerce, and the increase of useful people, are become the objects of universal attention...", and that, "Peace is now

> generally established; the rage of faction in this country is greatly abated; there is a concurrence of almost every circumstance, which can prompt us to undertake, or enable us to execute great designs..... Building bridges, repairing high-roads, establishing manufactures, forming commercial companies, and opening new veins of trade, are employments which have already thrown a lustre upon some of the first names of this country."

Science and the arts were showing an equal "spirit of industry and improvement". The Age of Reason was an age of technical innovation, and of mechanical and chemical experiment. Most combined theory with practical application, and led to new manufactories[184]. With the encouragment of the "Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture" set up in 1723, agriculture had become "an intellectual passion with many Scots lairds", who were beginning to practise draining, liming, enclosing, tree planting and the rotation of crops[185]. Intellectually, the Scottish contribution was already well established within Europe. Francis Hutcheson had published his main works in the 1720s[186], becoming professor of moral philosophy at Glasgow (a town even more deficient in "beauty and convenience") from 1729-46. David Hume, exemplar of Reason, published his "Treatise of Human Nature" in 1739, "Essays Moral and Political" in 1741, and "Philosophical Essays concerning the Human Understanding" in 1748. In Edinburgh, the College was employing leading figures in their own fields; Colin MacLaurin in the chair of mathematics from 1725, and Dr. Monro, as professor of anatomy from 1720-58 (who with Black and Cullen had established in the college one of the foremost medical centres of Europe).

In the unimproved towns of Scotland, trade, manufacture, learning, and the arts, were flourishing. If, as the *Proposals* suggested, the environment directly affected the nation's culture, an unintentional, overwhelming argument for the old "deficient" surroundings had been made. No age (or environment) since has produced so many major theoreticians of world renown; mid-eighteenth century intellectual achievement has never yet been paralleled in Scotland despite the benefits of all the "beauty and

convenience" which were later to be provided.

"Beauty and convenience" in the first half of the century, were in the hands of craftsmen-contractors directed by amateurs such as Sir John Clerk of Penicuik[187], whose understanding of architectural form and theory was less than equivalent to the intellectual achievement. While scientific and philosophical thought gained vitality and rigour through its Scottish interpreters, contemporary architectural design could never have set new European precedents. Its strongest concepts appear to have rested on the dogmatic copying of parts, with pattern books and manuals circulating between client, wright and mason[188], and an unreasoned hatred of gothic. "Palladio", though the discipline of the Master himself was ignored, was a popular byword for taste and discrimination: under the sign of Palladio's Head, Francis Brodie sold a "Variety of Furniture in the neatest and most fashionable Manner" in the Lawnmarket[189], and High school pupils used "..a very beautiful and nice model of Caesar's Bridge over the Rhine (done from the famous Palladio's Copperplate Design) of Wainscot.." as a study tool[190]. Unlike the free exchange and cross-fertilisation of ideas between European and Scots intellectuals, the building trade, like the Council, was entrenched behind custom and rights. Craftsmen were encouraged to conform to contemporary taste[191], interpreted by men such as Clerk and his protege William Adam, first by the School of St. Luke started in 1729 for the, "..encouragement of these excellent arts of Painting, Sculpture, Architecture etc, and Improvement of the Students", which lasted only into the 1730s, then by the Society for the Improvement of Arts and Sciences (founded in 1737). New inspiration came second hand, as seen through the eyes of clients who had visited abroad. Few foreign designers worked in Scotland where only grandees like Islay or exceptions like Charteris[192] could afford or appreciate them. That most prolific of builders to the Scottish nobility and gentry, William Adam, exemplified the standard of design. The undeniable charm of his buildings lies in their very inelegance, in his misapplication of the essence of classical space, proportion and detail[193].

In this partly "mediaeval", partly post-feudal world, none of the previous tenets of

accepted behaviour were above question. The rights and duties of the individual and society were being re-examined, dissected in popular philosophical treatise, and tested in practice. (A case brought before the Court of Session in 1757 attempted to determine whether a negro slave bought in Virginia was still a slave in Scotland[194]; when the negro died during the hearing no decision was reached). Each mid-eighteenth century adult faced the eventual choice of keeping to the values of the socially rigid but politically and economically unstable world in which he or she was brought up but which was fast becoming unrecognisable, or finding new norms to meet altered circumstances. Meantime, in the security of a more tranquil future, the town and its inhabitants could re-assess their condition, and in growing prosperity make good the defects caused by fifty-six years of uncertainty and relative poverty. This was the society inhabiting the city between 1746 and 1760. It remains to be seen if the changes it made on its own accord were similar to those proposed by the emerging establishment.

Modifications both to the use of words and the practice of building over the past two hundred years can cause confusion and lead to misinterpretation of the evidence given by the petitions. It should be noted that "ruinous" appears to have meant dilapidated rather than in ruins (many ruinous tenements were occupied in part), and "waste" to have meant unused rather than devastated. When a "waste" and "ruinous" tenement was taken down or collapsed, it is virtually impossible to be sure how much of the fabric had actually gone - a few feet of masonry at wall-head or every stone down to the foundation. It is just as impossible to be sure how much of the old remained after rebuilding unless old and new plans were produced with the petition; rather than remove all trace of the existing building down to foundation level as in twentieth century practice, it was more common only to repair the defective part, stitching the new back into the sound part of the old. Similarily, "refronting" meant just that, unless otherwise specified. High Street was not a name but a description of the main street of an area. Therefore it was not exclusive to the street which has it as a

name today, and Potterrow, Bristo, and Canongate all had high streets. Edinburgh's main street tended to be called by its constituent parts - Castlehill, Lawnmarket, Luckenbooths, Netherbow - and the term "High Street" was used almost solely in reference to the section from east of the Luckenbooths to west of the Netherbow which had no more specific title than "back of the Guard".

The Framework

However strongly the new establishment wanted to alter the city's framework, of all the proposed changes, "Widening and Enlarging the Streets of the said City, and certain Avenues leading thereto"[195] was soon found to be the most impossible to achieve. Many other cities about the same time were ruthlessly imposing order[196]; buildings which impeded the new grand plans were demolished and all trace of previous layouts eradicated. For Edinburgh, with its individualistic and intransigent topography, this was not a simple proposition. Nor, given the state of city finances and the fact that many of the council and gentry would have their own houses destroyed, was it economically or socially realistic.

From the passing of the Act in 1752, over the next eight years what could be done, was done; forestairs and booths were removed from the length of both Edinburgh and Canongate High Streets, and paving renewed in a series of measures instigated by the Procurator Fiscal[197]. Broken calsay was replaced, sufficient stone paving was laid twelve foot broad "where the High Street will admit of that breadth", and "power to direct the Cutting and Lowering of such vaults as may obstruct this right" was given to the contractors. Palls (bollards) of stone (or timber) "for preserving the said Pavement where they are wanting" were also erected. All work was carried out at the joint charge of adjoining heritors, divided by the proportional value of their property. Refusal to co-operate met with a fine of £5 scots, and the Council then employed a mason at heritors' expense and had expenses declared a debt against their property.

There seems to have been general support for the measures with some proprietors eager to see their closes brought up to the same standard[198]; but in Canongate, while the work was accepted, the assessment was not. Since, "by the narrowness of the Street there can be no foot walk made on the North side of it", the south-side heritors were unhappy at being made to bear the burden of a "publick good equally beneficaill to the whole Inhabitants ...", and argued that both sides should pay, but without success[199].

Though all these measures improved the convenience of streets, they still fell far short of the radical programmes begun in those cities which are cited as providing prototypes for Edinburgh's development in the *Proposals*. Action which really affected the old layout, that is removal of some smaller buildings and monuments dividing the Mile into areas, met with an immediate outcry. The first "obstruction" to go, was the "old arch att the water gate att the foot of the Canongate being become quite ruinous and in hazard of falling". This was demolished by order of the procurator fiscal in 1749[200], but had to be replaced by a timber replica to quieten the outcry. Popular resentment of the next demolitions was voiced in vituperative broadsheets, in eighteenth-century Edinburgh a common means of involving all the small population in any public or private disagreement. In "Echo of the Royal Porch of Holyrood House which fell under Military Execution anno 1753[201]" and "Last Speech and Dying Words of the Cross, which was Hanged drawn and quartered on Monday 15 March 1756 for the Horrid Crime of being an incumbrance to the Street", both by the pamphleteer "Claudero"[202], helpless indignation was strongly expressed;

> "for Arthur's Ov'n and Edinburgh Cross,
> Have, by new schemers, got a toss
> We, heels o'er head are tumbled down,
> The modern taste is **London** town."

By the end of the decade, it must have been obvious that no radical change **could**

be made to the city's framework. All hope of formal order had to rest on new extensions to north and south, agricultural land where a rectilinear plan could be laid out from scratch. In 1753, the carefully worded Act for providing "more commodious access to the high street ... from the fields of the north" had been finally passed. There may even have been burgesses who believed that its purpose was to ease the passage of goods to and from Leith, though the council's purchase of even more land north of the loch in 1758 must have tested even their credulity. When the draining of the Nor loch was begun in 1759, the way was almost (literally) open for the unhampered designing of a layout which could meet the aspirations of the new organisational hierarchy. But however well the path to achieving the extension of the royalty had been cleared, when it was at last put to the vote in 1759 the proposal was still defeated. Strong opposition came from the burgh of Canongate, which, said Chambers, "looked upon the projected new town, which was intended to be the chief residence of the great, as peculiarly a rival to itself, and accordingly felt deeply interested in keeping the city within its original extent."[203]. Considerable opposition must also have come from interests within the city, and it was not until the middle of the next decade that this was finally overcome.

New Buildings: Domestic

Had the *Proposals* complaints met with general agreement, the pattern set by new buildings should have been altering significantly. If conventional[1] forms and sites continued to be used, a degree of contentment might be assumed; they must have been thought acceptable to future occupiers as no developer was likely to build an undesirable residence knowingly. So by noting the occupation of clients and/or

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1 A conventional form is defined as one similar to the sixteenth and seventeenth-century types described in Chapter Two. A conventional site is one which has already been in use for buildings of a similar quality.

possessors of conventional or unconventional new buildings and sites, those with changing expectations, the group of dissatisfied inhabitants, may begin to distinguish itself from those still content with the traditional environment. In this period, new housing was solely for the more prosperous; any pattern in the means of living of customers for new developments is therefore confined to their ranks, from aristocrat to merchant, and is totally exclusive of other sections of society whose opinions were not considered then and are thus unknowable now. The following section is therefore divided by area and house type, conventional and unconventional, with clients, contractors, future tenants, and selling price or rent included when available.

In the heart of the city, two major developments took place in the early 1750s, almost directly facing each other on opposite sides of the High Street, and only a hundred yards from Courts, Council Chamber, and merchants' meeting place. Both replaced badly maintained property where a complicated pattern of ownership, with many absentee proprietors, had built-up over the innumerable years of settlement. Though building lines and rights to space and light were long established and could be altered only with great difficulty, internal layouts and elevations could be more easily adjusted to take advantage of changes in occupants' taste or status. Neither in the event showed any great difference to adjacent late seventeenth-century schemes.

The south scheme, between Fishmarket (or New Bank) and Conns close, was in an area more densely built on than any other part of town, part of the neighbourhood said by Drummond to consist of "very mean houses which affords only accommodation for the very lowest of the people which is a source of numberless ills" where "undertakers" were to be encouraged "to purchase and build thereon houses as might accommodate Inhabitants of better rank.."[204]. Badly damaged by fire in 1708[205], the closes already contained some new tenements of moderately large houses[206]. As well as Elphinstons Land, which has already been mentioned, and Carbiston's Land, which joined it on the west, between 1751 and 1754, three more -

Denham's, Arthur Reid's, and Kerr's Lands - all partly stone partly timber-fronted with interconnected structure and ownership, were taken down in stages. All had dilapidated upper stories due to poor maintenance, a neglect which may be explained by the fact that few owners lived or worked in the properties: Denhams Land was in the hands of his creditors, while most owners in other lands were resident in other cities.

Work started in 1751 with the two top stories of Denham's Land in Old Assembly Close "being taken down by warrant as ruinous and insufficient" [fig. 43]. This, together with the "ruinous" state of the turnpike stair affected Arthur Reid's Land, the timber frontland to its north between old Assembly and Borthwick's Close, whose west gable was already affected by the condition of Elphinston's Land, at the head of Fishmarket Close. Two years later that building's first storey, and the second above the shops of Kerr's Land, the timber land to the east, were found insufficient and their owners ordered to demolish and rebuild [fig. 44]. Finally, in 1754, the tenement east of Old Assembly Close, already half taken down by order of the court, was ordered to be completely demolished and rebuilt[207]. The partial demolition of Denhams Land's defective roof seems to have caused a domino effect, structurally affecting the others in turn and worsening any previous weaknesses. Alternative designs were then submitted by different groups of heritors, one by John Yeatts, the other by "Messieurs" fferguss and Cowan[208] [fig. 45]. The new buildings were eventually completed in 1757 (the rebuilding of Elphinstone's Land, whose ground floor had been bought by the Town in 1752, together with its western neighbour Carbistoun's (or Corbiston's) Land, had finished by 1755[209]), accounts were submitted[210], and the court was asked to declare the costs a real and preferable debt on the property. All three lands were united by a plain ashlar facade, with regular windows and an arcaded ground floor. Only the proportions of the large wallhead dormers place it as eighteenth-century work. The only remaining new plan shows that internally the Assembly Close turnpike was widened and changed to a semi-scale stair, and more fires and vents built into

gables. Each property had gained a little space from thinner walls.

Similar types were being erected in and off the Cowgate and in Cant's Close. In 1755, the Incorporation of Mary's Chapel rebuilt their land on the south side of the Cowgate opposite Marlin's Wynd which had been "intirely consumed by fire"[211]. This building contained four six-roomed (all with fires) houses, one to each storey, with a three-roomed shop-house on either side of a central pend [fig. 46]. The common turnpike was entered off the back court, as were the cellars for every house. Though smaller, a tenement of four-roomed houses (with closets) built slightly to the east in Robertson's Close, was more elegantly planned: the rear turnpike was chamfered into an octagon; the hall or lobby more spacious; and the pend was lined, on both sides, with cellars which completely cut off the entrance to the houses from the ground floor shop[212] [fig. 47]. On the High Street, at the head of Cant's or Rosehall's Close, the third example was rebuilt in 1760 to plans of Charles Freebairn, architect[213]. Four six-roomed houses (with two closets, and a cellar off the close), again one to each storey, and four three-roomed shop-houses, high and laigh on either side of the central pend, were provided. As with the Cowgate tenement, the only decoration shown on the simple symmetrical elevation was round the entry to the pend [fig. 48]. Here, the common turnpike was embedded just west of centre of a U-shaped plan, an arrangement which may have begun, like Reid's and Kerr's Lands, as a rear turnpike of a frontland which had been incorporated into later extended backlands.

The north scheme, between Warriston's and Stewart's Close, was sandwiched between what would become the site of the new Exchange on the east, and the more elegant lands popular with lawyers on the west. Part fronted Writers' Court, whose back land, built by Robert Milne in 1696, contained houses from six to twelve fire rooms[214]. In 1752, the heritors of the tenement to the east of Mary King's Close asked for warrant to rebuild the front,

> "..and other parts in Stone work to the terms of the Act of Parliament agreeable to the plan of our Several Properties made out by the said Charles Mack and John Yeatts,

> Sworn Measurers Running the fore wall of our Tenement in a Straight line with the forelands on the East and West of our Properties agreeable to the form observed and Directed in all the New Buildings which have happened within the City these fifty years..."[215]

This brought an immediate protest from the fourth storey heritors excluded from the petition[216]. Though in favour of rebuilding in stone, they objected strongly to the other heritors' intention to make each storey nine foot high, "for the ornament of the City" [fig. 49]:

> "The Respondants do not know the Law that visits the power in any Court to force them to give up or exchange their property and therefore will be forgiven to insist upon it as point of right that none of the Heritors of the lower stories can raise those ane single ffoot beyond the Height they presently are and immemorially have been without their Consent."

As this was being argued, the possible collapse of the gable between two tenements to the west was causing concern, for, "if the turnpike comes down, the gavil will too". Its demolition was ordered[217], bringing two heritors of the westmost tenement, Strachan's Land, to join the argument on heights; "For as tis necessary for the health of the inhabitants as well as the ornament of the City that the houses should be made higher between floor and roof than those which were built one hundred years ago.."[218]. Meantime, James Armour in the middle land of the three was aggrieved that his outshoot had been disallowed; "touching this closet or projection, when the tenement comes to be Rebuilt,...[it] Indeed appears to be as old as the Tenement itself having a door or doors of Communication with the tenement appearing to have been made originally in the wall when it was first built"[219].

In the event, no new work was carried out, the demolished areas being bought up for the new Exchange, but the effect on adjacent lands continued. A petition from John

Grant writer and other heritors of the next timber land to the west which was, "very old and in a Crazie Condition", sought permission to take down and rebuild "in a way that should be agreed on betwixt (them) and the Contractors for the Buildings on the East thereof"[220]. Their next petition, that the east gable to Warristons Land should be taken down and rebuilt as it was insufficient, was refused and the gable declared sound[221]. John Grant then bought Warristons Land's upper storey and applied for warrant to take off the roof, raise an additional storey, and to superstruct this on the mutual gable. The other proprietors were outraged at what they saw as a devious ploy: since their gable was **not** insufficient, they were extremely unwilling to suffer such inconvenience; without a roof their tenants would flit and at least two years rent be lost, as well as the expense of "fitting up our Properties in Stone and timber Work"[222]. This last land was built, seemingly without affecting Warristons Land. Though still very simple, the design had some significant differences from the others: the wallhead was given a small, purely decorative, pedimented, central gablet; the spiral stair verged on the square; three minimally decorated, ground floor arches tied the shop fronts and pend into a symmetrical whole; and unlike the south side development, it contained only one house, of eleven rooms [fig. 50].

None of the proprietors of any of the lands had lived in their houses, some, such as Armour, were property speculators, and most seem to have been multiple heirs of former owners[223].

The southmost part of the city within the town walls, far from being crowded, had few buildings and many open areas ripe for development. The most extensive of these, known as the Society, became the centre of most of the large new building schemes. Just north of Bristo Port, edged by Candlemaker Row to the west, the grounds of Trades Maidens' Hospital to the east, and a bowling green of the Excise Office to the north, from the time it was taken within the walls of 1514, it had been little used except for brewing. First given in tack by the town to the brewer burgesses, it was then disponed to William Cleghorn, a brewer, in 1697, with all its "houses, brewhouses and

coppers and other brewing looms belonging thereto, malt barns, lofts and kilns built thereon..."[224]. By the 1750s, brewing seemed to have ceased. The owner, Jean Hamilton, widow of Hugh Cleghorn, brewer, still lived on the site but was selling off disused barns, kilns, and parcels of land around her house and stables[225].

The Society had many advantages for owners and builders alike. It was part of the royalty, and it lay on the slope facing the courts and government offices just west of the College, High school, and the few new villas. Excepting Mrs. Cleghorn, it had almost no settled residents to inflict possibly unpleasant habits or work practices on their new neighbours. It had good wells and a quarry (from which rubble had been taken for the building of Parliament hall[226]). Access was relatively easy, and there was more than sufficient space for yards and storage of materials. The development of building plots was rapid and varied, and within ten years, the Society became a popular area of higher-priced houses: some plots were filled by the squares of contractor-developers; on others, detached single houses with large gardens were erected for wealthier clients.

Of the three large speculative schemes of the 1740s and 50s - Argyle, Brown's and Alison's Squares - the first two were sited in the Society, and the third in Potterrow beyond the Port. The buildings (excepting Brown's Square), were not dissimilar in size, plan and facade from those in the centre, indeed very similar to Miln's works. First to be built were the large, almost symmetrical, tenements of flatted houses forming the north side of Argyle Square, which were in situ on the map of 1742. After the purchase of Thomson's Yards (and Bowling Green), work on the southern half, or Campbell's buildings, continued through the early 50s. The developer, George Campbell, first described as wright then as house carpenter[227], had even longer established links with the area than the Cleghorns, part of the property having been in his family's possession since his forebear Captain Patrick Skirving, plumber, had bought an area beside the town wall from the Council about a hundred years previously[228]. The progress of his square was marked by a series of boundary disputes with Mrs.

Cleghorn, started by the disposal of Campbell's earth and rubbish onto her property (Campbell replying that his neighbours were "..disposed to give him all the Trouble and Distress in their power.." and to put a stop to his working a valuable quarry within his own property). Squabbling continued, over a boundary wall in 1754, and in 1755, he was prosecuted and fined for failing to take down all of his new building within nine feet of Mrs. Cleghorn's kiln, as ordered[229].

Brown Square (whose contractor-developer James Brown will be discussed in some detail in Chapter Five), was being built about the same time in the Society's north-western corner but no petitions relating to the work have been found. It was described at a later date as "houses in themselves", an unconventional arrangement where all floors within the mutual gables formed one house, with one possessor. The third "square" was started in 1749 in Potterrow. Being just outside the walls, the range of potential occupants would have been restricted by the residential requirements of a city burgess ticket, but its developer Colin Alison, another wright, would probably have been aiming at minor gentry and professionals. Having bought several houses and garden ground on the east side of the High Street from one of the Adams and other ground to their east from Lady Nicholson, he began "a building of New houses... [with] shades for Workhouses and holding of Timber to the North of the said new building"[230]. The neighbouring barony of Bristo, was also a popular area for new buildings. Near Alison's Square and in the same year, John Moubray, wigmaker, rebuilt a tenement with ruinous houses which he had lately bought on the north of the street[231], and south of Merchants Maidens' garden, in 1755 Robert Ferrier stabler, was planning to demolish the southmost of two tenements of land next to Bristo Port, and raise a house (or inn) of three storeys and garrets, with new stables and hay loft to be built in the garden[232] [fig. 51]. In Ferrier's house, an almost successful discipline was imposed on the disparate elements of the ground storey, and the stair half emerged from spiral to scale and platt.

All three squares were conventional buildings, with houses whose size and cost

were in the medium to upper range; one, in Argyle Square, was being sold for £650 sterling in 1750[233], expensive but good value if of similar size to the eastmost middle house which consisted of eleven fire rooms, two garret rooms for servants, lumber garret, two cellars and Pantry, fore court, back court, coal fold, "Neccessary-house", back entry to kitchen, and court with vaulted cellar without[234]. Amongst others, the *Moderates* John Home and Hugh Blair lived in Alison's Square[235] and Argyle Square respectively, and Brown Square contained the future Lord Melville, Lord President Blair and (law) Lord Craig, all when merely lawyers at the start of their careers[236]. These were residents whose aspirations might be expected to be in conflict with traditional burghal life; solid but not wealthy merchants, professionals, and widows, who would, in former years, have looked for lodgings in the developments of Miln and others off the High street[237]. There, any wish they may have had to form a socially exclusive and visually ordered environment would have collided with and been aggravated by the inability to detach themselves from their neighbours' work and habits. In the Society, both squares were a haven for those such as Miss Katherine Paterson of Kirkliston who objected strongly to pigeons being kept in the fire garret immediately above her drawing room in the top storey of Milne's fore court[238]. When the Guild court found in the pigeons' favour, she could well have felt cause to move. The court was generally unsympathetic to complaints against customary practice; when the proprietors and possessors of another of Milne's lands "of very great value being about £400 sterling yearly rent", between Craigs and old Posthouse Close found themselves,

> "greatly Annoyed and grieved ... by a forge or forges used by James Mitchel goldsmith proprietor or possessor of a shop in the second floor of the said tenement for beating of Silver or other Metal which having no solid foundations to be placed upon occasions such hideous noise as greatly disturbs and is indeed Intollerable .. [which] if not remedyed must Depreciate the whole Tenement"

the Council, despite the social standing of the petitioners, firmly upheld the old order;

> "..that seeing nothing in the Defenders manner of Working appears to have been done in ---- [illegible] and seeing it has been Customary for each Tradesman to have their work houses in second Storys in Edinburgh and there being no general Regulation... restraining such tradesmen from the freedom of Working in any part..",

and the complaint was rejected[239].

Where these new squares differed from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century developments of Miln and others is of particular interest as it should highlight any change in demand. Both answered the needs of minor gentry and professionals, those forming themselves into a new hierarchy. As has already been said, there was little difference, with the exception of Brown's Square, to be found in their main characteristics: the houses in both were roughly the same size and cost, and though the new had slightly larger central open space, generally the old had much larger garden ground at their rear. The most obvious dissimilarity lies in their situations: whereas the older squares lay close to Parliament Close, the hub of city life, but were hidden behind frontlands and could be approached only through pends, the new had relatively open and formal approaches to each block, easily seen and easily recognisable from a distance; they were completely detached from their closest neighbours, but were what had been regarded up till that time as inconveniently remote from the centre of town.

A neighbourhood of much more expensive houses than those in the Society lay to its north-east in Horse Wynd, which led from the town, past the College, through Potterow Port to the south. Here were the residences of the new institutional network's leaders and organisers (including one of the few new villas[240]). Even further east of these, on the opposite side of the Cowgate between the Mint and St. Mary's Wynd, was a longer established, more aristocratic area, a small enclave of lesser nobility and gentry gathered round the town house of the Marquis of Tweedale, and the semi-

public gardens of the Company of Physicians. (It is tempting to assume that these formed the Squadrone's equivalent to the Horse Wynd set.)

Until the late 1750s, the south slope behind the Cowgate frontlands seems to have had very few houses, though it did contain a large number of low sheds, stables, and brewhouses which were easily demolished as the area became desirable for new housing. Unlike the Society, Horse Wynd and its surrounding closes were half part of the old framework, with all that implied. At their feet, the Cowgate contained all types, qualities, and ages of houses mixed with government offices, markets, workshops, breweries and stabling, a characteristically interchangeable, interconnected use of land and ground, and hidden function and status. It was here, if anywhere, that collisions between the old organisation and new aspirations would be unavoidable.

Even the old aristocracy, accustomed to living alongside their lesser neighbours, were occasionally inconvenienced. In 1749, "When the Complainer [the Marquis of Tweedale] was attending the parliament" a hatter built a three-storied house in St Mary's Wynd immediately east of the Marquis's garden dyke, which, said his do-er "would be a great nuisance to him by casting out ... washings over the windows and peoples looking over these windows would disturb the Marquis and his family in their private Retirements which is the great use these gardens are for"[241]. The previous year, John Belsches of Innermay, the Sherriff Clerk principal had had similar problems in Niddrys Wynd, "early in the Morning ..[he].. found the Bank in the Garden all Covered with Linnen Cloaths laid doun there to Bleach" by a servant who had entered from a window in the neighbouring tenement[242]. These were both customary problems and soon remedied. The hatter was ordered to build up his windows within seven days, and the proprietor of the Niddry's Wynd house, together with his tenant Lady Mary Crighton, were ordered to bar the windows facing Belschies' garden. All faced a fine of £20 scots if they refused.

Horse Wynd itself was sandwiched between three breweries. On the east, Susanna Paterson widow of Archibald Ogilvie brewer was the liferentrix of a tenement of

brewhouse, barns and other offices between Horse and College Wynd[243], and James Dick, brewer, had tack of a house and brewery from Andrew Syme, coupar[244]. On the west, Thomas Mirtle's brewery took up most of Adamsons Close[245]. A clear instance of conflict between the old and new order appeared in 1750, when the Earl of Galloway, John Clerk, Doctor of Medicine, Lady Charles Kerr, widow of a Director of Chancery, Robert McIntosh doer for the Trustees of the Ministers' Widows funds, Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, and the Incorporation of Tailors, united to complain of Mirtle's application to improve his existing brewery by building a kiln, bern and malthouse[246]. They had, they said, "of Late Year been at Vast Charges and Expenses in Beautifying the Citie by the several Considerable buildings they have made in Horse Wynd and contiguous [property]" none of which would be enhanced by Mirtle's intended work, but despite this self-gratifying effort, their complaint was unsuccessful. The Guild court, as in the case of the Writers Court forge, continued to support the trade of its burgesses against attacks inspired by the minor gentry's new aspirations.

Mirtle's brewhouse, like others, had started as an unexceptional part of a late sixteenth-century household's domestic production, in a tenement of land, of two storeys, "high and laigh, back and fore, with yards and pertinents" which in 1583 stretched far south to the town wall[247]. Divided, extended, and re-divided over two hundred years, ownership of the various parts had become less and less clear and were now a fruitful source of litigation. There had already been a dispute over the tenement itself in 1750[248], and in 1752, the coal house, claimed by both Mirtle and the other owner of property in the close, William Reoch, wright[249], provided a new subject for the complaints of Lady Kerr, co-petitioner against the brewery buildings. She expressed her alarm that its ruinous stone walls, which reached up to the wester window of her lodging in Powers Close "may affoord ready access to any evil designing persons to Enter my house break in upon the Windows in the night time"[250], perhaps the "Vagrants in Town" who frequented a "Bowl and ring[251]" kept within the foot of Blackfriars Wynd - "a perfect nursery of all debauchery for the youth

that frequent it" - whose "profane cursing and swearing and fighting as well in the night as in the day" was annoying the Countess of Stair and other residents of the Mint the same year[252]. In this case, Lady Kerr's reasonable fear was accepted, the ownership was disentangled, and the walls demolished. Having built his new barn, (and resolved the disputes with Reoch), later the same year Mirtle applied for warrant to demolish an old house at the head of his close, and build a house of two stories with stables in its place, next to the dyke of Tailors gardens[253] [fig. 52]. Like many others at the time, he seems to have been overextending his resources for by 1758 the deeds for his two dwelling houses, brewery, granaries distillery, lofts, etc were in the hands of trustees for his creditors[254].

Alexander Peters, wright, who had been buying up land to build single houses of good size, with stabling but cramped yards or gardens on the east side of Horse Wynd, was a more successful developer. In 1747, Peters built a four-storied stone house (sold for £660 sterling to John McKenzie W.S. for his own use), then to its east, he erected another house for himself, south of his workhouse. After buying more land between head of Horse and College Wynd in 1751, on which he intended to put shades for holding timber, (he had had to demolish illegal shades put up on the east of his tenement in 1748, after complaints from Susanna Paterson) early the next year, he was applying for warrant for yet another tenement, with stables and oyls[?][255] [fig. 53]. Peters, a developer-contractor like Brown, Campbell, and Alison, was designing for those rich enough to afford their own "house in itself", who were presumably compensated for paltry yards and garden grounds by sharing a wynd with the socially elevated residents on the west.

A select few of the inhabitants were willing and able to commission houses for themselves, nearly all in sparsely populated districts where waste areas could be made into large gardens. In the Society, as well as the speculative developments which have already been described, a few private houses were built like that of James Drummond, merchant, which was already in use in 1752. Its garden, damaged by William Robison,

the builder of Blair's adjacent house, is impressively described; "..the entry to my house is Shut up the trees in my Avenue are lost and Severall Valuable Shrubs and flowrs are Stole that were planted there"[256]. (Drummond, like Mirtle, died leaving his affairs in the hands of creditors[257]). Another, at the south edge of the Society, was begun the same year for George Drummond of Blair Drummond, the brother-in-law of Lord Hailes, on the site of an old cistern and stable (bought from Mrs. Cleghorn) next to Campbell's buildings[258].

Other private houses were being erected on Castlehill, a socially as well as physically elevated area which probably contained the highest proportion of aristocratic Edinburgh residents; the Earl of Dumfries (who became also the Earl of Stair on the death of his brother), the last Lord Holyroodhouse, Elizabeth, Dowager Countess of Hyndford, Lord Rockville (son of the Earl of Aberdeen), the sixth Earl of Leven, and Lord Sempill, are mentioned by Chalmers as residents of the period, though most stayed only for the season or for a few years at a time. Allan Ramsay's "goose-pie[259]" house of 1742, was the first, a neat little villa placed in the large grounds on the north slope. This site, the last before the castle esplanade, was frequently exposed to cannon fire, and his choice of site was either brave, foolhardy, or perhaps just inexpensive, as it was not known at the time that the '45 shelling would be the last. The tenement had been intermittently ruinous for most of its recorded history, but included quite a large area of ground, which, after a short squabble with the Governor of the castle, he enclosed for his own use[260]. Ramsay's solitude was interrupted in 1757, when John Davidson, W.S., bought and demolished the house west of the Reservoir. Davidson applied for permission to remove the dyke Ramsay had built across the head of the close, and as his "..tenement had also a stair on the high street... which came out in a straight line with the face of the Resevoir, and tho I doe not probably intend to build my front to the full extent of that Stair Yet as it is my Property I shall at Least Pall in the same In a Line with the Resevoir to hinder boys from Looking in at My lower windows"[261].

Eastwards, safely positioned at Blythes closefoot, another new house begun in 1745 had been "halted by the Disturbances", just before the death of the client, Andrew Johnstone, druggist. The house lay partially completed until 1751, when it was at last finished "and put in habitable condition" on behalf of his heiress[262]. Though no drawings were found, the accounts are evidence of the high quality of internal finishes, and are described in Appendix II. Yet another fairly substantial house was planned on garden ground north of Milne's Court for Dr. Patrick Cumming in 1757[263], the year he lost the leadership of the *Moderates* to William Robertson after his defeat in the "Douglas" case against Carlyle[264] [fig. 54]. (The *Highflyers'* leader, Dr. Alexander Webster[265], lived on Castlehill's south side, and is said to have built an adjoining house which became Hogg's bank[266].)

In the early 1750s, both Andrew Fletcher and George Drummond moved from the centre of town to new detached houses on the outskirts. Milton applied for warrant to build a house and other conveniences on a large area commonly called Roxburgh's Gardens[267] near Canongatefoot in July 1751. It was convenient for attendance at Holyroodhouse and had been favoured by the aristocracy in the past; the Duke of Queensberry still occasionally occupied his house just to the east[268], and just further south-east, some years later than Milton, the Marquis of Lothian erected his "hut", the last aristocratic residence to be build within the city walls. In February 1754, the lodging in New Bank Close "lately possessed by Lord Milntoun consisting of eleven fire rooms with kitchen, commodious cellars and garrets", was advertised for sale[269]. Like Minto's, his new house was designed by John Adam, and though more an office than a family home, it was richly decorated internally, and published along with the mansions of the nobility in *Vitruvius Scoticus* [fig. 55]. George Drummond moved outside the royalty altogether; his fourth wife, whom he married in 1755, brought a fortune of c.£20,000, and after selling his Easter Hailes estate in 1757, he bought an old house at Broughton (in the centre of what is now Drummond Place) with thirteen acres, adding another eleven the following year[270].

Warrants alone cannot form a comprehensive list of new buildings in the city. Over the years some have been stolen or lost, a few were never submitted, and some submitted were never used. Though possibly incomplete, those that remain when taken with other sources still illustrate a clear pattern: heads of the new hierarchy were the clients, almost exclusively, for new "unconventional" homes. Their associates and lesser members tenanted more conventional developments on unconventional sites. The nobility excepting Lothian took no part, nor were any law lords ready to move[2]. However unconventional the most expensive houses were in form, there was remarkably little change in their siting: Castlehill and Canongatefoot were elegant (socially if not aesthetically), sparsely populated open lands, traditionally districts for the upper ranks. The desire to live in these areas is easily understood, but it is less easy to reconcile a pro-*Proposals* attitude with continuing to build (expensively) where the pressures of a strongly "feudal" framework were inescapable - that is, off the Cowgate in Mint Close or Horse Wynd. Either the owners imagined a forcible conversion of their inconvenient neighbours (hinted at in the Mirtle complaint), or their attitudes were more conventional in practice than in theory.

From the evident demand for new flatted houses - the conventional form of lodging - it would appear that the obligation to live overhead of one and other in the same building did not weigh heavily on most inhabitants. The great majority of new lands provided good sized, moderate to expensively priced accomodation, linked by the "inconvenience" of a common stair, and of the three new squares, only Brown supplied houses-in-themselves. If sufficient numbers of the inhabitants had both wanted and been able to afford the higher cost of a less conventional form, these too would probably have been provided.

Alterations to Existing Buildings

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2 Milton was far more than a judge and therefore an exception.

It could be argued that the cost of land in the centre, or compensation for lost rights to space, prohibited any arrangement other than flatted dwellings, but it would not account for the number of two or three-storied houses with private, individual entrances which were being raised to four or five storeys, all linked by the introduction of a common stair. This gradual increase in the height of lands has sometimes been taken to prove a lack of space within the walls, yet the handful of petitions for raising wall-heads made between 1746 and 1760 is hardly enough to indicate overcrowding. On the contrary, the previous petitions have given evidence of how surprisingly small and localised densely built areas were in reality; large gardens, ruinous, or waste areas were available for numerous quite substantial new houses built complete with stabling and offices, a few near the centre of town and many in the southern parishes within the walls. More probably, the raising of roofs was the cheapest, most profitable answer to a demand for accomodation which was slowly expanding with the town's prosperity. If combined with unavoidable roof repairs, letable space could be increased at minimal expense; and, in nearly all petitions, dilapidation and raising height go together. The owner of a one-storied lodging with a "very low" garret above between Peebles and Marlins Wynd, asked for permission to heighten the side walls seven feet while repairing his defective roof[271]; owners of the dilapidated top storey and garrets of a Carrubers Close tenement wanted to remove several breaks, take off the tiles, cover with "scailly", and "raise the whole so as to make it one uniform Squair roof all of a like height"[272]; a Fountain Close land with two uppermost storeys "much out of repair", was having its roof removed, wall raised and covered with "a new sclate roof Which will be a Great benefit to all concern'd in the said tenement."[273]. Only the owner of two "very low" houses on the south side of the Cowgate, who intended to take the roof off both and raise them two or three storeys higher made no mention of disrepair[274].

Less "regular" roofing materials and types of roofs, dilapidated or inconvenient, were being replaced - thus giving some indication of their use and distribution.

Toofalls (lean-tos) were generally found on stables or lofts: a toofall at Con's Closefoot did not contain a sufficient quantity of hay so its walls were to be raised two feet[275]; another over a stable (adjacent to the same lodging in Peebles Wynd whose roof was raised in 1750) was removed so a nursery could be added to the lodging by raising the walls a storey higher[276]. Lead platforms were fairly common in the centre, especially between the Netherbow and Luckenbooths. Defective lead flats were removed in Barrengers Close and on Wilkie's Land at the back of the city Guard[277], and both replaced with a square roof "of skailly or tyle", (adding two fire garret rooms to the house in Barrengers Close[278]). Thatch, despite the laws banning its use, could still be found throughout the city but, like too-falls, almost solely on very minor buildings; on ruinous stabling on the Cowgate[279] and the south side Grassmarket[280]; on the back part of a land[281] on the north side Grassmarket; and on a recently disused kiln in the Society[282].

Throughout the town, timber lands were the rule not the exception, and even in the High street the balance still seems to have been slightly weighed in their favour. Although the laws of building prohibited new constructions of timber, civic life had been completed disrupted during the Jacobite occupation of 1745, and in the panic regulation was abandoned; John Milne, founder had felt "obliged to hurry up the building [of his house at Chalmers Closefoot] thereof Partly with Lath and Plaister", to gain possession before Whitsun 1745, and it was not until 1755 that he "resolved to alter the same by building it up in Stone Work"[283]. Some halted work completely, while other builders took advantage of the chaos. With the Guild Court unable to function, there were,

> "...several buildings projected to be carried on and some actually at present carrying on within the Burgh and Liberties thereof contrary to Law which might have very fatal consequences if not timeously noticed ... [and] many persons were incroaching with their buildings and otherwise on the high Streets leading to and from the Burgh"[284].

When order was at last re-imposed, a backlog of illegal building works had accumulated, and one of the re-established court's first prosecutions was against the "audacious and unparalleled encroachment" of erecting a timber shop on the High street opposite the Guard. The offenders were fined (£100 and £50 scots), the shop knocked down, and the materials taken to the Town Yard[285]. In the more settled years which followed, very occasionally, timber repairs were allowed; the "much decay'd" timber front of a small house and shop[286] was lathed and plastered with permission, as was the timber forewall to Francis Brodie's first storey house in the Lawnmarket[287]. On the west side of Mint Close, north of the Mint, a house incorporating the client's existing dwelling, including what, from the drawing, appears to be a timber front to the rear wall, was erected in 1755[288] [fig. 56].

Since timber fronts were already disliked on grounds of safety, now that fashionable opinion had turned so decisively against them, it might be thought that some effort would be made to change their appearance. Between 1746 and 1760, though many references are made to timber lands, lath and plaster walls, and timber shades and shops, apart from the High Street frontlands already discussed, only five petitions for refronting remain. The first - to build up a timber front opposite the Tron Kirk in stone work - was granted warrant in August 1745, only a month before the Jacobite army entered Edinburgh[289]. Early in the 1750s, permission was given to rebuild the front of both the uppermost land[290], south Castlehill, and the "old and crazie" tenement of land fronting High school Yards[291] [fig. 57]. John Home, coachmaker, the only petitioner to give his reasons for rebuilding, wished to take down and remove his "very defective and ruinous" timber front together with the stair projecting to the west, and to repair the stonework "soe as to make it a Work house, Which will Considerably Wyden and ornament that Narrow Street [St. Marys Wynd]..". Under the conditions that warrant was granted, he lost the projecting space on all three timber storeys, since the new work was to be carried up in line with the existing stone front on the ground floor[292]. The last of the petitions illustrates refronting being used as a bargaining

counter with the court. In 1756, the proprietor of a (timber) tenement of houses with a mutual lath and plaster east gable at Robertson's Closefoot (north of Scots Land, east of Jack's Land), proposed to demolish his whole building and rebuild the mutual gable in stone only if allowed to raise it two to three feet higher. Work would have been purely to his advantage; neighbouring owners having unwanted inconvenience and half the expense, whereas he gained a stronger gable and increased lettable space[293].

The trickle of voluntary refronting in the 1750s suggests that to most owners, this "ornament" to the city was not, in itself, worth the expense; that it was to their financial advantage only when combined with gross dilapidation or expansion. As yet, the value of property would not appear to have been significantly affected by its construction or appearance.

Public Buildings

Of all the complaints made in the *Proposals*, the simplest to remedy was the want of certain public buildings; the writer and his friends administered the city's finances and were well placed to influence wider sources of funding. Moreover, as their public voice they had George Drummond, whose energy and influence in Edinburgh were astonishing: after some thirty years of politicking, from one among the many agents of Islay he had at last become a force within the city. Within six months of their publication in 1752, he had orchestrated the Council and the convention of Royal burghs into accepting and supporting each of the new proposals with the one exception of an enlarged royalty.

On the 6th of May, a petition from "a great many of the Principal Inhabitants Heritors Merchants and Burgesses of the City" asked that a plan of a forum or convenient place of exchange should be made, as when "..several Tenements near the Cross became ruinous it occurred to Many that So Lucky ane Opportunity for a Well Situate Exchange Ought not to be Lost.."[294]. The attraction of this very moderate

request was that "any Approved plan might be put into Execution without Loss.." by placing a court in front of the new building "which would gain the property ane handsome Range of shops on each side of the valuable Area, and was this done there can be little doubt but the better Sort of Inhabitants would Cheerfully Contribute to Ornament the area and finish a Stately Covered Walk att the back part.."[295]. There was nothing here to alarm the Council, a small commitment to a scheme for their benefit as merchants which, if built, might cost the city little. The plan was ordered, and produced (by John Adam) only seven weeks later. When it was presented for amendment by Drummond as Provost, he now emphasised the difficulty in financing such a work: cheerful contributions, it seemed, depended on much more than a "handsome range of shops"; all the other wants of the *Proposals* needed to be included, he had been given to believe, to encourage subscriptions[296]. Three days later at the general convention of royal burghs, Drummond, as acting president introduced virtually the same motion,

> "signifying it had been for some time under consideration that at present a propper opportunity occur'd for having an exchange or publick forum on the north side of the street near the Cross, by purchasing a large area and removeing back the front of the new buildings to be erected where the ruins now are, and that if there were a covered walk on the north side of the said area, it would render the exchange commodious for merchants and people of business; there was also a project how a building might be erected on the ruines to the south of the Parliament Closs where the burrow room and council chamber formerly stood, to contain a great room for the royal burrows of Scotland and their annual committee to meet in, a convenient councill chamber for the magistrats to meet in for the dispatch of business, a dwelling house for the residence of the provost during his office; that plans of these had been made out by a skilful hand, that after these had been shown to some persons of the first rank and influence in the nation, it was suggested that if there was also added a library for the faculty of advocats that the records of the nation which at present are huddled together might be accommodated in advocats' present library, and a proper room for the lords of session to put on their robes in, with convenient offices for the prin[cip]le clerks of session and

> the clerk to the commission of teinds for security of the valuable writings, warrands, & records in their custody,...there was reason to apprehend that all ranks in the nation would contribute by a voluntary subscription to carry on these useful and ornamental works.."[297].

Both motion and appeal for voluntary contributions were carried. By the 12th August, the "Sundry public Improvements ... particularly a Register Office and Exchange" proposed by the Lord Provost were accepted fact, and the council meeting was devoted to a discussion of the rules governing the appointment of Directors for the works.

Up to and including this meeting, enlarging the royalty or improving access from north and south had not been linked with the improvements in the Council or the Convention of Burghs' minutes. Though both schemes had been proposed frequently for over seventy years, they had always been contentious and divisive issues, seen as not necessarily to the burgesses' benefit. On the 2nd of September, the Committee on public Improvements agreed to talk with John Graham, plumber, owner of half the land on Multrees hill, and the joint owners of the other half with the intention of buying it for future use to build houses and sheds if the royalty was extended to the north. Then on the 14th of October Drummond announced to the Council that he had been offered the chance to gain an avenue to the south by the purchase of the ground floor of Elphinstone's Land "now being built at the back of the Cross": that as time was pressing, he had employed John ffergus, architect, to survey the ground and make a plan, and called a meeting of "as many Directors as he could reach..and also Intreated some persons of high rank to be present" who were unanimous in their approval of his new proposal;

> "That as almost all that part of the City which lies between Elphinstone's land and Marline's Wynd to the East and the buildings fronting the high street to the Cowgate on the South, consists of very mean houses which affords only accommodation for the

> very lowest of the people which is a source of numberless ills, the most solid remedy for which appeared the having as many convenient openings from the street to that space of ground as could be gote in order to Encourage undertakers to purchase and build thereon houses as might accommodate Inhabitants of better rank.."[298]

Amongst the so-called "very mean buildings" were the first storey lodging on the west of Marlin's Wynd consisting of dining room, drawing room, three bed-closets, large lumber room, two light closets, place for servants, kitchen, pantry etc with two cellars, the lodging on the east of Peebles Wynd of eight fire rooms, kitchen, cellars, three garrets, with a stable, hay-loft, and area, and the lodging at the west side of Niddry's Wynd of six fire rooms, kitchen, lobby, etc, two cellars, coal-fold, and draw well in back court[299], all bringing in large rents and with highly respectable occupants, as well as those in the more western closes which were discussed earlier in the chapter. Not to waste time, Drummond suggested that the Council should buy the property immediately (for, at the worst, they could use it as shops), should open negotiations with other owners, should be applying to the banks for a loan of £10,000, and should start on the street to the north, (since it was the more important) at the same time as the Exchange, to make use of it for disposing of rubbish from the Exchange site; all to take place before the 22nd of December when the Directors gained the power to act.

Most astonishing of all, and a tribute either to Drummond's influence or the Council's impotence, is the fact that every one of his recommendations, even the last and most dubious, were agreed; in six months the Council had come from accepting the petition to have a plan of an Exchange drawn in May, to authorising, by October, the building of an Exchange, Register house, roads to the south and north, and was committed, despite lack of funds, to purchasing innumerable tenements and ground throughout and beyond the city[300]. But it was not, however illogical, in any way committed to extending the Royalty.

The Act for "Erecting several Public Buildings in the City of Edinburgh; and to empower the Trustees therein to be mentioned to purchase lands for that Purpose; and

also for Widening and Enlarging the Streets of the said City, and certain Avenues leading thereto" was passed the following year, and immediately the Exchange was begun. By September 1753, the foundation stone had been laid, and by 1761 the work was virtually finished. A piazza for merchants, a custom house, shops and houses (for sale) were provided round a court as proposed [fig. 58].

The other public buildings, opened between 1746 and 1760, were relatively minor and for private institutions. The Royal Bank built in Fishmarket Close in 1746, under the direction of William Adam, then rebuilt in 1751 to the annoyance of its neighbours who complained the alterations would "throw open our whole houses open at this Season of the year when there is not time to have materials prepared for rebuilding" and exposed them "to a great deal of unnecessary expense when all that the Royal Bank proposes by pulling down this [mutual] Gavill is a little outward Decoration to that area adjacent to the ffabrick lately erected"[301]. Two others were both for entertainment. The new, purpose-built Canongate Concert Hall held its first performance on 16 November 1747; with tickets more expensive than the rival Taylors hall, it promised to be "...warm and commodious with Boxes for the Ladies, new Scenes, and all other Decorations"[302]. Most of the immoral overtones of theatre-going were lost after 1756, when the "Douglas" tragedy, written by a minister and unashamedly attended by ministers, played to packed houses and public acclaim, and it became publicly as well as privately acceptable, though still, in principle, illegal to stage performances[303]. The Assembly, the other entertainment, was restarted in 1746 under joint management of the treasurers of Workhouse and Infirmary. Always in need of additional income, they had joined forces to see "that so good a design for the improvement and entertainment of the nobility and gentry...and such a considerable fund of charity for the poor should not be lost"[304]. A new Assembly hall in Bells Wynd was taken for one year at a £55 sterling rent and refurbished, and, after organising Directors and musicians, the Countesses of Leven, Glencairn, and Hopetoun and Ladies Minto and Milntoun (Milton) were approached to be Directresses. This

mixture of the old and new hierarchy was an interesting choice as the status of these ladies, who took it in turn to supervise proceedings, was key to any social (or financial) success. Throughout the 1750s, the managers tried unsuccessfully to find a suitable site for building a new hall. One of their efforts, a joint scheme with the musical society was presented to the Council in 1754 as being "in the interest of the town to give countenance for such polite amusements as might encourage strangers of rank to reside in the city", but the proposed site (in Harts Close) was rejected[305], and the Assembly continued to be held in its old premises.

These works were all in close concord with the *Proposals*; they decorated the town or encouraged visiting gentry. But their eventual use highlighted the growing split in society; on one side merchants stayed reluctant to move to the Exchange piazza from time honoured haunts in Parliament Close, and on the other ministers used the Playhouse ("concert hall" only to avoid outright offense) in flagrant disregard of accepted church tenents held by the majority of the population. None were great works, all being designed for the benefit of middle ranks, not the aristocracy. And none, as yet, broke the conventions of the city framework, despite the "little outward decoration".

Manufactories

Given the favoured status of linen and, to a lesser extent, wool, it comes as little surprise that the few new manufactories, mentioned in petitions between 1746 and 1760, were nearly all for the making of cloth. All made full use of their position when applying for building warrant; as one owner ended his petition, "And as the Government does greatly Countenance and encourage Manufacture No private person ought to interfere..."[306]. These early works could be quite large; in some converted houses in Lochend Close, a manufactory for weaving Holland and linen cloth with "upwards of 60 looms; which gives Bread to some hundreds of hands" was rented by

Messrs. Cheap and Neilson[307]. All were built in open garden or waste ground at the city's edge: an unspecified new manufactory was to be erected on garden ground in Bristo, south of Lord Newhall's house in 1749[308]; the Orphan Hospital intended building a workhouse "for Carrying on the Manufactures of the same" in 1750[309]; a stocking manufactory and other houses were planned on Potterrow's west side in 1751[310]; the tack of a piece of the garden of Heriot's Hospital was given for "erecting a workhouse for the manufacture and carrying on our Lace work which will be very beneficial to the Country" in 1755[311], and the Sugar House Company bought "ground on the south side of Canongate opposite the Tolbooth ..in which [they intended] to build a house for boiling and making their Sugar"[312] [fig. 59]. Permission to erect a shade for lint dressing in the centre of town, in a yard off the Lawnmarket, was refused as being surrounded by timber buildings it was seen as "a manifest danger to the whole neighbourhood"[313] [fig. 60].

Wrights were the only other trade expanding their accommodation. New workhouses were built by William Reoch at the foot of Carruber's Close[314], by Alexander Peters in Horse Wynd, and by Charles Howison raising the walls of his existing workhouse in Fisher's Close[315] [fig. 61]. Breweries were decreasing in number, sold to be demolished or converted into housing like those in Horse Wynd, and the Society.

Stables

Evidence from the petitions shows that much of the 1742 map represented one-storied stabling and **not** multi-storied housing, with self-evident implications as to density. These small utilitarian buildings, together with stableyards, haylofts, coach and chaise houses, covered vast acreage of ground within the city. Some inns were quite large, like a property for sale at Cants Close-foot which accommodated thirty horses[316]. In the centre even upper-storey flats had stabling, like the second storey

house in the "great stone land" at the head of Blackfriars' Wynd, with a stable for three horses, a "convenient" room adjacent, and tack of a coach house with 10 years to run[317].

With the possession of carriages being a definite mark of status, new stabling was continually being added to property: to the existing offices of George Cunninghame, surgeon, and William Todd, merchant, in the adjoining gardens of their houses on Castlehill, bounded by the Nor'loch[318]; and by Barons of Exchequer to their stables, coach houses, and stable yard built on land in the Society, bought from Mrs. Cleghorn in 1745, where on part of the great timber yard north of the stables, bought in 1756, they intended building two more coach houses together with three more stables on part of the stable yard[319]. Brown, Argyle, and Alison's Squares have no mention of stabling (though the large Exchequer yard was close by), while Alexander Peter's Horse Wynd house had accommodation for eight horses [fig. 62].

Commercial stabling was expanding on traditional sites; in the Grassmarket[320]; around ports such as Bristo, (where stables for 14 horses were built[321]); south of the Merchant Maidens' Hospital grounds [fig.63]; and in the Canongate where James Reid, coachmaker, intended to build coach and workhouses on waste ground between Campbell's and Finlayson's Lands[322]. Existing inns were being refurbished, such as the Red Lion at the foot of St. Mary's Wynd which was,

> "..fitted up, in the neatest and most commodious Manner, for the Reception and Entertainment of Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, their servants and horses, having the ground and Coach Shades well paved, the Well and Pond in good Order, the Stables handsomely done up with new Stalls properly divided, and Sash Windows in each Stable, situated in such Order as to prevent Cold in the Winter and too much Heat in the Summer Seasons."[323]

At the Canongate's head and foot, a few stables were being adapted or demolished for new housing. Near the Watergate, the new owner of a coach house (which he had

previously rented from coachmaker John Paxton) was building a tenement in its yard[324], and Haliburton's Close, an area of stables, lofts, houses and tanwork, was being redeveloped by all neighbouring proprietors[325]. These were signs of a revival of interest in the Canongate, forerunners of the many developments which would take place in the 1760s and 70s.

Summary

By 1760, society was split. Most inhabitants kept to traditional patterns of behaviour in social, economic, and domestic life, but a few, the more influential, were attacking accepted principles. New mores had already been established in the church, economy, and environment, but nearly all the new establishment were men in their fifties and sixties, with ingrained habits and customs of the previous period. Even those who agreed with or advocated change were not necessarily ready for it to upset their own familiar surroundings. The partial truth of the *Proposals* can be seen when put into context: it preached the view of a small group who could only gain from change, and to them, as is shown by their actions, the opinions expressed were valid. To others, the majority of inhabitants, many complaints and proposals were irrelevant, irrational, and some ultimately damaging to their preferred and customary way of life, in particular to the merchants and tradesmen whose monopoly was being broken. They felt no need to alter what was, to them, satisfactory and convenient. Parts of the city's fabric had been neglected, and minor improvements were appreciated; much was being repaired, little was being replaced, and that with minimal change from conventional precedents. But whether they liked or wanted it or not, the inhabitants' accustomed way of life was being altered, and even the basis of burgh organisation was shaking. Since those who objected to the existing environment most strongly were also those forming the new establishment, the minority view was likely to eventually prevail despite its effect on the rest of society.

The fifteen years between 1746 and 1760 held a hybrid, contradictory society. New attitudes were being expressed by men with old customs, an introverted community had an extrovert policy, and central property was being bought or blighted for new roads to a proposed suburb whose future existence was still being vehemently rejected.

CHAPTER 4.

Banks, Bankruptcies, and Bridges, 1761 - 1775

Between 1761 to 1775, the divide between old and new attitudes - attitudes which were to be termed the feudal and commercial - widened irretrievably. Links with the old order snapped as the life of each of its aging leaders ended: George II died in 1760; Islay (by then Duke of Argyll), who had begun to withdraw from public life in 1756, died in 1761, and Milton, who rarely appeared in public after 1764, died in 1766. Pre-1746 society now existed solely in the memories of the elderly, and its views were being set aside for the different outlook of Edinburgh's new hierarchy. With increasing numbers of the new order's lesser members and followers rapidly adopting their leaders' attitudes, and disregarding what had been normal and acceptable behaviour, that very behaviour, without any change in itself, began to acquire a negative overtone.

For nine remarkable years, the city experienced peace, wild economic boom, and innumerable building projects. Speculation was rife, and many of the inhabitants took the opportunity to discard not only their old attitudes but also their old houses for new; but whereas the villas of the more important had been easily distinguishable - formal and set apart from the rest of the fabric - lesser adherents, with less funds, faced a problem in establishing a similarly separate identity.

As in the previous chapter, evidence from remaining petitions is used to chart the inhabitants' concerns. In particular, this chapter will concentrate on the way in which this quest for a separate identity was modifying attitudes to the surroundings of new buildings, and how, in turn, these affected both each individual parish, and the general integrity of the old framework. Contrary to what might have been expected, it was into the city not its suburb that money was poured; new buildings were almost completely

concentrated within the old regality, not in what was still the largely unbuilt layout of its extension.

The Changing Context

With George III, the new king, came new favourites, the most prominent and contentious of which was Lord Bute, the nephew of Islay, and the king's former tutor. When this man of almost no political experience became Pitt's secretary in 1761, great parliamentary resentment and, more importantly, a resurrection of virulently anti-Scottish feeling were aroused[326];

> "It is most notoriously manifest that, setting aside all *national* prejudice, a SCOTCH temperament must be totally obnoxious and contrary to every disposition consistent with the *letter* of ENGLISH LAWS and the *freedom* of an ENGLISH CONSTITUTION."[327].

Bute became head of the ministry and first Lord of Treasury after the resignations of Pitt in October 1761 and Lord Newcastle in May 1762. Both had succumbed to the difficulties inherent in ending the long and expensive war with the French, together with a partial loss of the king's favour and support. When peace was eventually declared on the 10th February 1763, its terms were deeply unpopular: the Paris treaty - compared by the anti-Bute propagandist John Wilkes to the peace of God, in that, he said, it passed all understanding - was felt to have been too favourable to the French; to have given up too much hard won land especially in the commercially rich West Indies. Responsibility and blame rested with Bute, the Scottish outsider, who was forced to resign in April. The London government then continued in a unsettled state, with numerous short-lived ministries, till North gained control in 1770.

With peace, world wide trading restarted exuberantly, and as the enormous military drain on the resources of the warring nations ended, their economies started to

recover. Both helped fund an era of "retablissement" after so many recessionary war years, not just in Scotland but throughout Europe[328], and in many countries, feudal structures began to bend under the sheer weight of rampant commercialism. The growing power, the new unfeudal strengths of Commerce, had already been demonstrated in the United Kingdoms as a whole, for it could be argued that, broadly speaking, the wars of the 1750s had been primarily neither territorial nor political but commercial. Instigated by the East India Company's attempt to destroy the competing *Compagnie des Indes*, and *John Company*'s desire for trade monopoly in Canada, their spoils went more to the merchant class than to the aristocracy. In Scotland, whose social organisation was more feudal and whose finances were much poorer than those of its far more powerful partner nation, the impact of commerce - this new motivating force almost alien to the previous organisation - spread waves of change throughout society. Freed from the confines of mediaeval economic structures and for the first time acting as a major theme in the nation's history, commercial euphoria caused its own particular chaos after the war: the chronic lack of specie (coinage) resulted in bills for small amounts being issued by virtually all and sundry - that is, anyone who could persuade a creditor to accept a bill could issue one; in the middle of this exchange crisis, it was "not in the power of the best and richest companies in Glasgow to borrow money"[329]. By banning the issue of notes to a value of less than £1 in 1765[330], and bringing specie (bought by the two public banks at a loss[331]) from England to supply reserves of gold and silver, by 1770 the situation had eased.

Throughout the 1760s the number of small and not necessarily dependable banks rose sharply[332], helping fuel the beginnings of speculative frenzy. Borrowers bought and developed West Indies estates, improved land, built larger and more expensive houses, and "flattering themselves with the prospect of the immense advantage to be derived from their speculations, launched into a style of living up to their expected profits, as if they had already realised them"[333]. Into these chaotic financial waters, a new bank was launched in 1769, "for the support of the Trade, Manufactures, and

Agriculture of the County"[334]. The Ayr Bank (Douglas, Heron and Co.)[335] could be said to represent the long held dream of a Scottish land bank[336], but was an entirely private co-partnery with major aristocratic landowners at its head, no state backing, and unlimited liability. However benevolent the original intention, it soon became renowned for liberal and unsecured cash credits, and with seven branch offices accepting all notes on other bankers at par, unprecedented trading and a wild expansion of the national economy resulted. Both came to an abrupt halt only three years later when, in June 1772, a London bank heavily involved not only with the by then greatly overextended and undercapitalised Ayr Bank but also most other private Scottish banks, collapsed. When the news reached Edinburgh, the Ayr Bank with thirteen others all unable to meet their commitments were ruined by the rush to exchange notes for specie, and a few like William Alexander and Sons temporarily closed. The two public banks held firm, being soundly capitalised and more restrained in issue and acceptance of notes, and to protect the remnants of Scots notes' viability, they agreed to accept Ayr Bank notes on security of the proprietors' landed estates, which were valued at six to seven million pounds sterling. Unlimited liability left shareholders bearing the burden of debt, and though major proprietors were allowed to issue annuities against the revenues of their estate, lesser shareholders' debts continued into the nineties. Many tracts of land became heavily burdened, or had to be sold outright, and £750,000 of landed property was said to have been forced onto the market[337]. At the end of this major crisis, the Scottish banking system emerged purged, considerably leaner but more healthy. The worst effects on the public were avoided, but the building boom which had raged in Edinburgh during the 1760s collapsed, and many developers were left with large debts and capital tied up in houses and sites which could no longer be sold.

In Scottish politics, no-one had sufficient power or personal influence to take up the tight reins of Islay and Milton; their organisation was left to run itself virtually unchecked, without restraint but also without leads to a powerful patron who could

speak for Scotland in the London government. The Rockingham ministry tried to make use of Lord President Dundas's influence in 1765, but he was unwilling to co-operate; "political interest", remarked James Boswell, "is...so divided among different families hungry for advantages that I doubt if an extensive influence can again be established in one family"[338]. The most politically prominent aristocrats - Bute, his family and proteges, William Mure one of the Barons of Exchequer, John Home of "Douglas" fame, and Gilbert Elliot the younger of Minto[339], together with Bute's rival Henry Scott 3rd Duke of Buccleuch (later 5th Duke of Queensberry) - were incapable of playing leading parts in the administration of Scotland, and all did little more than hold major sources of patronage with no great aim and to no great effect.

Before the Ayr Bank collapse temporarily distracted the minds of the middle classes from their political discontent to more urgent personal matters, the affluent 60s had seen a steady rise in attacks on the organisation of local and national politics. In 1768, Lord Buchan, "free and independent of every influence whatsoever" put himself forward in the election of representative peers, as it had been reduced, he said, "to a mere ministerial nomination, at once disgraceful to the community and subversive to the freedom of Parliament"[340], and the same year, after a particularly scandalous general election, the Court of Session launched a "determined assault" on falsification of records, bribery, and fictitious votes. Neither attack made any great impression on the openly corrupt but long established systems. In Edinburgh, though the small, self-perpetuating inner circle of traditional burgess rule was still tightly closed, and the Council's form and methods immovably traditional, there was a perceptible shifting of its aims and allegiance. In 1763, the type of merchant Councillor being elected was twice challenged, firstly from the ranks of the new men by a demand that "some merchants of independent fortunes" should be included in the Council[341]. Then, in a response from the more traditional faction, when Drummond was nominated for a second term of office his standing along with the status of others was called into question by some trades councillors;

> "We protest against the election of George Drummond Esq., one of the Commissioners of Excise, David Flint one of the Trustees for Fisheries and Manufactures, and John Nisbet General Supervisor of the Salt dues; that they shall neither be allowed to vote in this election, nor be elected to the offices of Provost and Baillies of the City; In respect none of them are at present, nor have been for many years past, of the estate or calling of Merchants within this city, as required by the established Sett of this Burgh (and particularly the said George Drummond), by nature of the offices they hold."[342]

Like all other attempts of the time to change or question control of local politics, this protest was unsuccessful.

Drummond died on the 4th November 1766, the same year as his much resented master, Milton. Neither of these two major instigators of change lived to see the results of their actions come into full effect - a world unimaginable to such men of the previous era. Following the example of Drummond and Milton, the new men, those "merchants of independent fortunes"[343], continued to take advantage of the old system for new ends, but unlike their predecessors (though like their "betters" Bute and Buccleuch), it appears to have been done with no greater objective than their own individual benefit. Under their direction, the disadvantages of such an introverted, self-regulating system became more obvious; its formerly inherent counter-balance - that being selected from the ranks of merchants and tradesmen the Council should have shared the common interest of burgesses, and each member should have been personally affected by any infringement of right - was negated by the new merchant Councillors' wider interests. Always less influential than the merchants[344], the trades in particular were now seeing their concerns frequently disregarded, and their status relegated to the third or even fourth division of the new burgh organisation.

Another of the balancing mechanisms of pre-commercial society was destabilised as *Moderate* hold on established doctrine grew stronger. For two hundred years, presbyterianism had offered every individual in all strata of society a measure for weighing their own and their fellows' worth other than by social and economic status,

thus allowing a certain independence of mind and action to even the most socially and economically disadvantaged individual. *Moderate* preaching, now widely spread, implicitly accepted the predominance of social and economic scales[345], and *High-flyers*, who had mellowed from the inflexible logical extremes of seventeenth-century doctrine, no longer offered a clear alternative within the national church. Many began to look outside its rule for a more satisfactory interpretation of the Scriptures[346], and in the 1760s dissenting presbyteries and sects gained members and grew in influence. As a direct result of the Moderates' own social ambitions, which appeared to ignore the worth (in Christian terms) of the less affluent within the congregation[347], nonconformity, in their eyes, took on worldly as opposed to religious connotations, and was seen almost solely as political disaffection;

> "The one set, which encourages patronage, are men of moderate and peaceable principles, both respecting church and state, who discharge quietly the duties of their function. The other, who are violent enemies to patronage are more bigoted in their religious principles; men who are ever inclined to advance the republican part of the constitution, and who are always endeavouring...to insinuate themselves into the favour of the rabble. By these men, but much more by Seceders, Methodists, Cameronians, Independents, Anabaptists, Bereans, and the endless tribe of sectaries, fanaticism is propagated and much distress caused in private families.."[348].

By labelling doctrinal dissension as political agitation, the church could avoid examination of dissension's cause, of the discord between its implicit standpoint and that of testamentary teachings perceived by all those leaving its charge. "It were uncandid", said a young minister of the time, "to withhold credit for conscientious principle from many individuals who deserted the ground on which they had formerly stood"[349].

The effective removal of this religious counter-balance to the social and economic divisions of society allowed the luckless to be regarded as having no comparative

merit, and the aspiring to feel an unassailable superiority by sole virtue of a higher income. The city charities, struggling to cope with frequent annual deficits[350] due to rising numbers of poor[351] and falling voluntary contributions, were badly affected and though attempts were made in 1773, and 1775 to devise an adequate form of taxation, both were defeated.

Only education seems to have survived the changed climate of leading opinion in regard to the city's less fortunate members. In the short-lived affluence of the 60s, the Council established its own four lecture schools, and the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge another three, each teaching about sixty means-tested pupils. These were in addition to twenty-four English schools, with about thirty pupils (each paying two to five shillings a quarter), and five to six other schools with about fifteen pupils each[352]. In 1764, a Mr. Braidwood opened an Academy for the Deaf and Dumb with one pupil, which, by the mid-seventies, was receiving applicants from England and even America. The training of artisans now took place in an Academy of Design, founded by the Board of Trustees for Manufactories and Fisheries in 1760, and held (in the 70s) in two rooms in the College. In a four year course, twenty boys and girls were taught "to acquire a knowledge in drawing sufficient to assist them in their respective occupations; this institution being solely appropriated for the use of manufactures, not intended as an academy of painting"[353]. All new schools were fitted into houses and halls throughout the city; none had new specifically designed accommodation.

Though most building work was still planned by wrights and masons, an increasing number of "architects" appears in petitions. A much wider exchange of views and range of influences were opening to these men, more than tradesmen only slightly less than gentry; both Robert Adam and the Mylnes had returned from intensive studies abroad, and others such as the English-based William Chambers (who had travelled as far as China) received commissions within the town. Pattern books of every style were published, and lesser works were not neglected, for it was soon recognised that

the "many valuable treatises of architecture" then extant were "chiefly confined to grand and magnificent buildings, without attending to those of an inferior order which are more wanted by the bulk of our tradesmen", and many - such as George Jameson, carver, in Edinburgh - were more than ready to supply this need themselves[354].

Just how the various parishes within the city were affected by the enormous amount of new work, which areas were seen as appropriate for which functions and qualities of development, and what this reveals of contemporary attitudes to each area and each building type, will now be examined.

Public Buildings

In the wake of the great civic works of the 1750s, public buildings of the next decade were on a much smaller scale, but were more numerous. Little was built by the town itself. Two civic works, the Canongate Work House[355] and West Kirk Poor House[356], both of 1761, provided for the growing numbers of poor in outlying districts (St Cuthbert's parish had already erected a Chapel of Ease in 1757[357].) Built at the very start of the period under consideration, it could be argued that these were the last of the social improvements of the pre-45 era, rather than socially inconsistent works of the new age. A new anatomy theatre was added to the College in 1764 for Alexander Munro (secundus), and the Speculative Society built a hall in 1769, on ground on the south side of the College given to them by the Council, at the recommendation of Principal Robertson[358].

Most public buildings were erected by and for particular religious or social groups, rather than the town as a whole. Previously, only the established church had purpose-built places of worship, while nonconformist congregations held their services discreetly in any available space (with the exception of Baron Smith's English church). By the 1760s, new presbyteries and sects had the support, confidence, and money to be seen as well as believed, and in 1765, permission was sought to build a meeting

house for the newly formed Relief congregation by Potterrow Port[359]. This area, just outside the walls, eventually housed most of the secessionist congregations; within a few years, a Burgher's meeting house was built south of Merchant Maidens' Hospital, and an Anti-Burgher's[360] at the north end of Crosscauseway opposite the 1757 Chapel of Ease for the West Kirk (St. Cuthbert's) parish [fig. 63].

Two years before buying the Relief Kirk's site, the same petitioner, William Dickson, together with "some other persons subscribing" had bought an area on the west side of Castle Wynd for a "Kirk to accommodate the highland people about this City who do not understand the English language" [361] [fig. 64], where Church of Scotland services were to be held in earse (gaelic). A project of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge (to whom Dickson disponed the kirk), it was built by subscription and collections at a cost of c£700, completed in 1769, and with an addition of 1777, held a congregation of about a thousand, indicating the large numbers of Highlanders employed, mostly as chairmen, porters, servants, and in the guard, within the city[362].

New modes of worship were coming from without as well as within the established church; in 1761, John Wesley, the English Methodist, delivered his first sermon in Edinburgh, then returned intermittently until his death in 1791 to preach to gatherings of five or six thousand on the Calton hill (or, during bad weather, in the more sheltered High School Yards) as his predecessor William Whitfield had done with equal success in the 1740s[363]. Though vast crowds were drawn by the novel and stimulating experience, few were converted, so to shelter and encourage the growth of his small (but affluent) congregation, a Methodist chapel was proposed; first, in 1764, by Chessel's Court, Canongate[364], then in February 1765, on ground in laigh Calton[365] [fig. 65]. Both were centrally planned octagons, but the second was more ornate, with lantern and attached accommodation. Work on the Calton site proceeded rapidly and in May 1766 Wesley preached at the chapel's opening to a "multitude of people, a great number of whom were people of fashion, with many ministers."[366].

By 1767, the Methodist congregation stood at one hundred and sixty, but by 1770 had declined to fifty. For the next ten years, numbers remained fairly constant around a hundred.

In the 1770s, two more churches were erected, both very different from the simplicity and social standing[367] of the Earse Kirk, but with roughly the same accommodation. An Episcopalian chapel, designed to take the amalgamated congregations from Baron Smith's, Skinners and Carrubers Close chapels, opened in 1774 in the Physicians' garden[368]. It attracted not only resident government officials, but visiting lions such as Samuel Johnson, and anglophile members of the new administration. The other, a chapel built in 1772 next to the Orphan Hospital [fig. 64b], was the eccentric private enterprise of a Lady Glenorchy, who held strong, individualistic views on interdenominational preaching. These had already been put into practice before her widowhood in 1771 at the age of thirty, when, with the reluctant advice of Dr. Webster, the *High flyers'* leader, and Mr. Walker, the second minister of the High Kirk, she had promoted a form of alternate presbyterian, episcopalian, and methodist service in the Incorporation's meeting house in Niddrys Wynd. The new chapel opened in 1774, but attempts to find a minister were hindered by both the Town council and presbytery; their opposition was aroused less by her novel theology than the pre-emption of their rights, as Lady Glenorchy proposed to reserve patronage and management to herself. Her unmoved response to the presbytery,

> "That the chapel was her private property, and had never been intended to be put on the footing of the establishment, nor connected with it, as a chapel of ease to the city of Edinburgh: That having built ..[it] at her own expense, she was entitled to name the minister...and that those who were not pleased with this mode of administration might dispose of their alms elsewhere."[369]

was eventually accepted after argument and appeals.

dissatisfaction with the established church, their very building indicates, comparatively speaking, a new popular tolerance. The English chapel had none of the architectural discretion of its predecessor, being,

> "..somewhat in the style of St Martin's in the fields, London. It is ninety feet long, by seventy five broad.. and is ornamented with a neat spire of tolerable height ... [where] hangs an excellent bell, formerly belonging to the chapel royal of Holyrood-house. ... In the east side of the chapel is a nitch of thirty feet, with a Venetian window, where stands the altar, which is adorned with paintings by Runciman, a native of Edinburgh. .. To complete this chapel, however, two porticos are still wanted. That on the south (which is the front of the church) is meant to consist of lofty Corinthian pillars supporting a pediment."[370] **[fig.67]**

Only the Methodists and Lady Glenorchy, the heads of completely new institutions which had no previous links with the city, had chosen to build on the north, midway between old and new. Their churches became the uneasy neighbours of the only other new public building in this area, the unlucky Theatre Royal. Theatrical entertainment had finally been licensed in a clause added to the bill for extending the royalty, and as riot damage had closed the Canongate Hall[371], the new theatre, at an estimated cost of £5,000, was begun in 1768 at the north end of the new bridge[372]. This act of faith, the first major commitment to the small cluster of houses representing the north suburb, was badly rewarded by the collapse of the new bridge, three months before the theatre's opening in December 1769.

Like the English Chapel, the music society, an equally socially elevated institution[373], chose a site off the Cowgate for its new concert hall. Having abandoned the attempt to build joint accommodation with the Assembly, in 1759 it bought an area at the foot of Niddrys Wynd, very near its former room. The new hall's design was a commission of great consequence, and a committee, which included Lord Kaimes, Sir Adam Ferguson, and Dr. Clerk, was appointed to co-operate with the directors in

negotiations with tradesmen, and authorised to "give directions about the building directly". Despite Robert Adam, on his grand tour, being "much on the observe" of Italian halls' acoustics and construction to help his brother John obtain the work[374], Robert Mylne, an architect equally polished by studies abroad, not the Adams, was chosen to carry out the work. By 1763 St. Cecilia's Music Hall, designed "on the model of the great Opera Theatre at Parma, but on a smaller scale"[375], was opened having cost £1,328 (plus £300 for the site and ten guineas for Mylne's design), raised by members' subscription. The Assembly continued to make-do in Bells Wynd, adding an extension in 1766 to ease overcrowding[376] [fig. 66].

The last of the era's new public buildings was sited outside the city, just beyond the south wall. Founded in 1763, the Royal Academy for Teaching Exercises, or the Riding School, was designed to be select, to draw its members from the peerage, and introduce the younger members of society to a neccessary social skill[377]. With Lord Bute as its first governor, the Duke of Queensberry as deputy, and an array of the more notable members of the administration as subscribers[378] or directors, the new institution's status was secure and in 1766 it received a royal patent. William Alexander, of the banking family[379], and James Brown, wright, the developer of Brown's Square, took charge of the more practical side, with Brown arranging the purchase of a site on a flat area near to the College and the members' lodgings. The building itself, designed by Robert Adam, "avoided all extra ornament ..[only enough] ..to make the facade decent and genteel"[380] [fig. 68]. By the 70s, its popularity was hit badly by general retrenchment, most members having been involved to some degree in the Ayr bank crash. To continue in modified form, in 1774 first horses then ground had to be sold to pay debts incurred through falling membership, but the decline continued and the school never regained its former status.

For whatever reasons, the older and more socially respectable the institution, the more conventional was the site. However incongruous it may seem, considering the attitudes to the city expressed in the *Proposals*, all of the new buildings except the

riding school were central, and all were conveniently near to the lodgings of those who commissioned them, within five minutes walk of Horse Wynd, the Society, and the Mint enclave, and ten from the furthest points of Castlehill and Canongate. The leading influences behind the gathering places of the gentry still favoured the old framework and ignored the new north suburb[381]. Newer members with new attitudes may have been less happy with the choice, but had lesser social standing and little weight in decision making; talking of the English chapel, Arnot, himself a member, complained that,

> "It is to be regretted, that a structure, which, when completed, will be really handsome, has not been raised upon an advantageous situation ... the chapel is concealed by adjacent buildings; the access, especially for carriages, inconvenient ... Had it been in the extended royalty, it would have been seen to advantage, and been an ornament to the neighbourhood."[382]

From this, a clearer definition of what Arnot means by "advantageous", an insight into the new implicit standpoint, can be gained. No situation in the extended royalty could have been seen from further than the position in the Cowgate (with the exception of the east axial site in St Andrews Square which was already occupied, and its still vacant western counterpart in Charlotte Square, both still well out of reach of nonconformists, however socially well-connected). In the New Town, the chapel would have been concealed on three sides, in the Cowgate it lay in garden ground, open on all sides. Both old and new sites were accessible to coaches. But in the New Town it would have been within an area of nothing but new, consistent, planned development; in the Cowgate the gardens were edged by a mixture of sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth-century houses of the gentry with their usual hotch-potch of sheds, outhouses, and stables; in the new, it would have lain on a main thoroughfare, in the old it was invisible from the High Street, and lay off the road used by meal, corn, and cattle merchants bringing goods to market. Advantageous, it would appear, was used

as meaning part of a formal prospect, within an architecturally consistent context, and unsullied by the inelegant mechanisms of daily life. Handsomeness, as a quality in itself, as a hidden joy, a private pleasure, detached from the surroundings, was discounted. The inference, if made correctly, that no building, however well designed, however expensive, could be seen to advantage within an inconsistent setting, was extremely damaging to the future prospects of the old city.

The Framework

By the 1760s, the demands of private transport, which many had and even more wanted, were being met at the expense of nearly all other considerations. Despite extremely limited use within the walls, in 1763, 396 four-wheeled and 462 two-wheeled carriages were paying duty[383]. Since the city and Canongate could be crossed by foot, east to west in half an hour at the maximum, and fifteen minutes north to south (including Potterrow and Bristo), ownership of carriages was hardly a matter of necessity. Some at least must have been rarely used, with only the glory of possession compensating for the expense as their owners lived and worked solely in town. The transport of goods was not at issue.

The relentless desire to clear the High Street of "obstructions" for the convenience of carriages continued, and in 1764, the Netherbow Port, one of the major and more regarded features of the pre-45 city was demolished as a hindrance to traffic. Only thirty years earlier, even Scottish Members of Parliament had combined to protect it from retribution after the Porteous riot. Now its removal caused prolonged but unheeded public outrage, and like the "death" of the Cross and the "execution" of Holyrood Porch was lamented by the pamphleteer Claudero;

> "What was too hard for the great ones of the earth.. to effect, is now.. accomplished... down shall Edina's lofty porches be hurled with a vengeance ... Streets shall be extended to the east, regular and beautiful ... Our city will be the greatest wonder of the world

> ... Our gates must be extended wide for accommodating the gilded chariots, which, from the luxury of the age, are become numerous..they jostle against one another in our streets, and the unwary foot passenger is in danger of being crushed to pieces. The loaded cart itself cannot withstand their fury ... Who, then, can blame the wise guardians of Edina, whose greatest care is the preservation of her people and the safety of her inhabitants?"[384]

As well as an obstruction to traffic, the Netherbow was an unmistakable reminder of each and every disaster and triumph of the last two hundred years, a relic of the "fanatick" past, and a bulwark of introverted protectivism - all qualities antipathetic to the aims of the City's leaders. It was also an effective customs post, and the problems its removal gave to the continuing control of smugglers were ignored. Only the previous year, George Campbell had been warned against making windows in the [town] wall "which may be a pernicious Consequence not only as it is a violation of the rights the City has on their wall ... But also as it may be a Temptation to Encourage smuggling"[385]. It seems that, while on lesser matters, the town's regulators continued to apply customary restrictions, in major alterations which affected the overall character, these were being totally superseded.

Other streets at the edge of town were being widened; Leith Wynd was restored to a width of 26'8", Horse Wynd in the Abbey was cleared of projecting buildings, and north back Canongate, to the distress of some proprietors, was set at thirty foot; keeping this width opposite to his area (at the foot of Young's Street), said one, took up so much of his ground that it was hardly worth building[386]. Less contentiously, more footpaths, in street and closes, were repaired or repaved, and simultaneously cleared of obstacles by the request of the inhabitants. When, in 1762, it was proposed to pave the north side of the Grassmarket[387], as with earlier street schemes the owners supported the measures and also took the opportunity to rid themselves of Heriot Bridge[388]. Fairholms Close at the head of the West Bow, "never having as would seem been paved or regularly laid" was also obstructed by a "Coblers stall or

booths built of wood.. [which]..projects into and narrows the Close". The heritors, wanting to pave, appealed for its removal as the benefit of street lamps were in "great measure excluded from the close in night time" and it was "a Coven in the day time to idle nasty people and others who Resort there to ease themselves". Fisher's Close was simply repaved with "squair pavement" and its grate mended in 1766, and Todrig's Wynd was repaved, its gutter raised, and some projecting fore shots removed in 1768. Stephenlaw's Close-foot was "laid in Pavement from the Strand on the north side of Cowgate to the north side of James Tait's turnpike" in 1774, then had "several steps or one flatt of stairs..very inconvenient to inhabitants and dangerous to strangers" removed from the middle of the close in 1776[389].

On the previously little used southern edge of the city, the new popularity of the Society and its surrounds as a residential neighbourhood was beginning to cause traffic problems. Old routes were made more difficult to use, and new routes interfered with older rights. Alexander Earl of Galloway, Sir Gilbert Elliot, Dr Clerk and Alexander Peters combined in objecting to a new house at the head of Horse Wynd which would, they said, render the wynd "altogether inaccessible for Coaches Chaises Carts or other wheel Carriages consequently would shut up any access from the South to the Town by Potterrow Port which is one of the avenues most frequented by people Resorting to the town..". James Brown was found guilty of raising the street at the head of Scott's Close, and forming the "same into such a shape or figure that the Inhabitants in Frosty Weather or when the street is wett must be in Danger of Falling". His defence that he had "for these some years by past been employed in building a Square in the Society ... and it being almost finished he is now making a Street before the entry to the Houses at his own Expense" was dismissed[390].

With the settling of each complaint and the modification of each individual access, a new main road began to emerge between the various developments from High School Yards to the Society. This might have formed a new route completely consistent with the earlier expansion of the city (where the first layer of growth had spread out

southwards from the High Street, leaving the hardened edge of an additional highway [the Cowgate] in its wake to mark the passing of the previous limit), but before this, the latest and last natural growth of the mediaeval framework, a third east-west street within the city proper, had been clearly defined, the axis of the city was so radically adjusted that an entirely new pattern of growth was set. In July 1763 a call for tenders and an appeal for subscriptions and loans was published for the largest of all 60s' alterations, that "road of communication ... betwixt the High-street of Edinburgh, and the adjacent grounds belonging to the city and the other neighbouring fields, as well as to the port of Leith" to be made by building a stone bridge over the east end of the North Loch[391].

North Bridge Street, as it was eventually called, established an entirely new, strong, north-south, open-ended axis which, in principle, echoed the St. Mary's-Leith Wynd route, but with one essential difference: the earlier road ran along the boundary of the town proper, outside the wall and centred on an entry into the city. With no Netherbow Port to divide Edinburgh from Canongate, the centre of town slipped east to the line of Bridge Street, giving it an importance which countered the contained east-west High Street, drawing traffic out of the city, and smashing the town's defensive framework.

Work started in 1765 to a design of William Mylne (with alterations by John Adam)[392] and the bridge opened to pedestrians early in 1769, but as has already been mentioned, in August of the same year the south end's vaults and sidewalls gave way, causing the death of five passers-by and the injury of many more. Both foundations and dead weight had been miscalculated, and considerable rebuilding was needed before the bridge could finally open in 1772. Though its direct effect was postponed, the very fact of its future existence altered the nature of the framework.

Major Housing Developments within the Old Regality and Canongate.

"... for some time the capital branch about Edinburgh has been building, which has gone on, and still continues to do so, with such rapidity, that the city has been increased exceedingly in its extent: and it is not uncommon to see a house built in a few months, and even inhabited before the roof is quite finished."[393]

Even if not generally accepted, by 1760, the new aspirations of 1746 had become familiar throughout the population. The new administration was well established, and more and more of its number were wanting to match their new status with a new house. In the speculative enthusiasm of the decade, property investment soared; followers of both new and old fashions raised and altered buildings with equal rapidity and in equally large numbers. In the mid to late 1760s and early 70s, a wide range of styles, plans, and functions, some novel some traditional, were added to the town.

Working within the framework revived a dilemma posed since the sixteenth century: that for harmony and concord of all parts, without which beauty cannot be achieved under classical rules[394], a structure must be continued according to the system which informed it at the start[395]; if the original system contradicted the accepted rules of beauty, then harmony and concord could only be gained at the expense of perpetuating a style itself the antithesis of "beauty". Despite innumerable contemporary treatises on the nature of beauty[396], there is no suggestion that the pragmatic burgh establishment, unlike their earlier Italian counterparts, acknowledged much less agonized over the aesthetic conundrum set by the city's mediaeval framework - but knowingly or unknowingly, with varying levels of determination and success, each new untraditional design attempted to impose an alien aesthetic on its surroundings.

By examining the degree to which the parameters of physical character set in Chapter Two were upset by the diverse proposals of this era, the crucial differences between old and new attitudes to the use of urban space can be clarified. The nature and flexibility of the framework's essential character - the underlying discipline by

which a particular and distinctive form dictates the disposition of its widely varied components - should also become more evident.

In the 1760s, the Canongate came into its own after so many years of neglect, and innumerable new buildings of all shapes, forms and sizes began to fill back waste grounds and gardens. Of three developments of the early 60s, all large well-finished houses for the gentry, two, the more distinguished, were effectively close-wynd hybrids; they were as broad as wynds, with buildings forming an inward facing north-south fringe as in wynds, but with private access leading only to an equally private back entry for coaches, characteristic of closes not thoroughfares. The third followed the seventeenth-century precedent of Miln - a common court concealed behind front lands, edged by large blocks, but with shared closes at east and west sides of the court, and therefore less privacy.

The first development (1762 - c.1775) was instigated by Dr. Thomas Young. One of the many medical men attracted to the city by the reputation of the College and Infirmary, Dr. Young had risen from giving lectures on Physick at his lodgings in Patersons Court in 1746[397], to become, by the early seventies, a Professor of Midwifery and prominent obstetrician who not only doctored but socialised with the new establishment[398]. Like all medical men, while Young could achieve financial, professional, and social status, he was totally excluded from affecting the course of local or national affairs. Property investment was one of the few acceptable ways of putting his accumulated capital to use in consolidating his position.

In 1762, Young bought a strip of ground on the north side of Canongate. The area, just far enough east of the Netherbow to avoid the noise of travellers, goods carts, and inns, contained a normal mix of age, size and use in both the short fringe of front lands, and the few, widely scattered, single buildings which lay behind[399]. Development began in 1763, with the building of a house for Young's own use, west of Jack's Land (the lodging of David Hume in 1753). He began by demolishing only

an old gable on the west side of the building, but, by 1764, had totally replaced the old with new[400], and was building a second house to the west of his first[401] [fig. 69]. By 1765, he had acquired nearly all the few widely scattered buildings down the length of the area[402], and from 1765 onwards, lots were feued to owners and builders[403]. While the line and width of the street itself appear on early drawings, it has not yet been discovered if any restrictions were placed on the individual sites. The early designs for double-house blocks submitted by Wilson, Butters and Stevenson are very similar, but the 1771 design of Robert Wilson is significantly different [figs. 70, 71]. An idea of the type of accomodation provided is given by a description of the "handsome strong and well-built house" belonging to Sir James Dunbar. This contained, on the kitchen floor, a kitchen, scullery, servants'-hall, Cook's bed-closet, House-keeper's room, pantry and larder, and "for proof against fire, the ceiling is arched with bricks; and underneath are five commodious cellars, arched with bricks also", on the Parlour floor, a large vestibule, dining room, bed chamber, and dressing room, on the drawing room floor, a large drawing room, bed chamber, and dressing room, on what is described as the lodging storey, three rooms, two closets, and presses, and in the garrets, a "good" bed chamber, with other apartments for servants, and "convenient for lumber". The stair was described as "very elegant, of stone, with an iron rail", and there was an area behind the house for a coach-house, stables, etc[404].

In 1766, possibly with capital from feuing lots, Dr. Young began a new four-storied, four-house building on the west corner at the head of his street. The contrast between the new design and the house it replaced seems fairly typical of work at the time: the old is almost symmetrical (though totally asymmetrical if it were originally one with the west block, as was likely), as is the new, but the height has almost doubled, and whereas the facade of the old retreated back from the street in three different planes - lean-to, main front, wall head front - the new is severe and unbroken; internally there is little comparison between the old arrangement, which has three, dissimilar, individually planned levels, and the new which is totally repetitive with only a minor

variation to allow for entry on the ground floor. It is worth noting that the new stair is an unrepentantly pure spiral[405] [figs. 72, 73].

Whilst feuing continued on vacant lots edging the street, the occupied lots were developed further; in 1768, Dr. Hay and Sir James Dunbar applied for warrant to build stables and coach houses on land adjacent to their houses, and Dr. Young to build coach houses along the north back[406]. The same year, a design for houses on ground adjacent to the foot of the street totally unlike the rest of Young's development was submitted: the builder, a journeyman mason, had kept some existing walls, giving a difficult plan form on which he attempted to impose a classical front [fig. 74].

Young's new street was a successful venture, attracting two of the most influential law lords, Lord Kaimes who had formerly lodged in Hasties Close, and Lord Hailes, in World's End Close, together with an assortment of professionals and minor gentry. Within itself, the scheme was intrinsically alien to previous designs, with regularly distributed, symmetrical, semi-detached blocks. As a whole it conformed to the pattern of the framework, and caused almost no disruption, only widening the path of an existing avenue to form an inward-looking, self-contained, environment. Both the area Dr. Young had acquired, and its surroundings, were largely undeveloped, which allowed a barrier of gardens and coach houses to be erected between residents and the actions of adjoining proprietors. The semi-detached blocks limited possible intrusions through party walls, and sunken areas protected each front from even the restricted number of passers-by within the street. Only the street head and foot were left vulnerable to outside forces, but there, buildings departed from the general pattern within to conform, in a modified way, to the precedent of late seventeenth-century front lands. Lord Kaimes' house, which fronted the Canongate at the east side of the street, was a house-in-itself, a small Milton house, and was said by Chambers to be considered at the time, "so elegant a structure (though only of two stories, with a front of *groove-ashler work,*) that strangers from the country used to be taken to see it by their city friends..."[407].

The second development (1766 - c.1767), on the south side of the Canongate almost opposite Young's Street was, in many respects, similar. The developer, Francis Charteris, second son of the 4th Earl of Wemyss, was a wealthy aristocrat with some connections which were extremely influential, and some which were disreputable in the extreme. He had inherited a vast, dubiously acquired, fortune from his maternal grandfather, the infamous debauchee, Colonel Charteris[408], while James, the third son, inherited his father's property in place of the eldest brother, an attainted Jacobite. That Francis had been kept clear of suspect associations, was probably due to the influence of his guardian, the Duke of Argyle. In the early sixties, both brothers sent large sums to the exile who, having quarrelled with the Stuarts, was heavily dependant on his family; in final payment, Francis contributed first £4,000, then another £1,000 sterling[409].

Francis Charteris was exceptional not only in the size of his inheritance, but also in his hiring of Isaac Ware, the notable English Palladian, to design his new country house, Amisfield - a choice of considerable taste and discrimination. As well as the large Canongate area on which he would build, he also owned a house in Presidents Land, Parliament Close[410], and an older property adjacent to the reservoir, which he sold in the late 50s[411]. In 1766, Charteris applied for permission to build several houses on his land below St. John's cross[412]. Unlike Young Street, all fourteen houses were warranted and built as one phase by his tradesmen. The names of architect, George Paterson, and mason, Alexander Gowans (both guild-brethern of Canongate) appear in a complaint of encroachment later the same year, when building work started on the west side, affecting the foundations of a tenement possessed by Lady Mary Campbell, and the Hon. Mrs. Gascoigne[413].

Like Young, Charteris had formed a scheme that, however unconventional in itself, as a whole, fitted into the framework with minimal disturbance. The entry from the High Street through a pend was completely conventional, as was the use of mainly one side of the street - if it is regarded as a wide close. An unbroken line of repetitive units

was formed; each house received maximum sunlight; each front was protected by a sunken area, and their only disadvantage was the relatively small back gardens, though these faced onto the highly decorative grounds of Moray house. It was, says Chambers, inhabited by people of the highest respectability:

> "Lord Blantyre lived in No 3; Lord Monboddo, in No 13; the Earl of Hyndford, in No 8; the Earl of Dalhousie, in No 5; Sir Charles Preston of Valleyfield, in No 1. The self-contained house on the green on the west side, belonged to Francis Charteris [himself Earl of Wemyss in 1787]"[414].

The third development lay just slightly west of Charteris' street. Unlike its two contemporaries, it was not a gentlemanly speculation but the work of a contractor, Archibald Chessels, a wright burgess. Chessels had been building in his Canongate area from at least 1745[415], but no further mention of his name is made in the remaining archives until over ten years later when he began the main phase of courtyard buildings in the late 1750s and 60s. He had owned a third-storey house between Gosford's Close and Libberton's Wynd of "nine fire rooms, kitchen and a handsome Lobby, two Garrets and two Cellars, and all finished in the best Manner"[416] sometime before 1750, but no other work in Edinburgh during the intervening years has been traced[417]. Due to a peculiar quirk in the boundaries, the site he was to develop was within the city though outside the port, and therefore qualified for residence of city burgesses. From the 1745 reference onwards, nearly all petitions in relation to Chessels concerned either disputed rights to ground and property, complaints of his encroachments, damage to mutual gables, or undermining neighbouring lands[418]. Most warrant drawings are missing, and though some appear as evidence in complaints, it is difficult to form a reliable picture of what was eventually built and where. Despite these uncertainties, what remains clear are Chessels' intentions; the overall aesthetic, the range in size and quality of houses within the court, and the use of the site as a whole. While the main south block and

front lands had good sized houses with expensive finishes - the third storey of the front land was let to Lady Charlotte Gordon at £21 sterling, and the fourth with garret to William Drummond of Callendar at £25[419] - the proposed east range was particularly narrow, and the houses tiny even when compared to less notable developments [figs. 75, 76]. To preserve the central open space, east and west flanking blocks were pressed hard against the boundaries at the expense of light and privacy. At the foot of Plainstone Close, again following tradition to place the best accomodation furthest from the street with greatest garden ground, in a house of 1757 Chessels provided a good kitchen (with two vents and a drain for carrying off water), a cook's room and closet, pantry, larder, servants' hall, and "several conveniences for wine, ale, coal, etc", all on the ground floor. On the first floor were a parlour, side room, "handsome" dining room and a small bed room, on the "first pair of stairs" were a "genteel" drawing room with bed closet off, and two "good" bed chambers, on the "second pair of stairs" were the principal bed room, dressing room and two bed chambers, and finally in the garrets were three "good" rooms, a room for servants, and a "commodious wardrobe properly fitted". Outside, there was a "neat little garden with two neccessary houses" with a covered way to them, and a poultry yard with hen coops[420].

After Chessels' death in the late 60s, his daughter was left to face the result of what appears to have been bad workmanship and careless construction, in accord with the hasty disregard of structural implications shown by earlier complaints; "I am much alarmed by the bad state of the partitions in your house which I possess owing to a sinking of the joists in the middle," wrote one tenant in 1770. Partly due to the removal of brick internal walls on the ground floor, and partly to settlement, the sagging floors and cracking partitions drove tenants out, and "this fine Tenement which cost near £2,000 sterling is uninhabited except the Shop Storey possessed by Mr. Arrock"[421]. And so it remained until liability was assessed and repairs were eventually carried out.

Apart from limiting himself to the legal height, which the Milns were always

reluctant to do, Chessels' work echoed almost exactly their progress in the 1680s and 90s: its hasty building, the continuous complaints of encroachments, the bad workmanship, and the need for repairs soon after completion were theirs; its planning took the precedent of Milne Court and Square differing only in the isolation of the south block; parts of the group were exclusive (by cost) but much less selective accommodation impinged on their territory, in the adjoining closes and within the court itself; and the design allowed for no perimeter social bulwark of outdoor space. The framework, complete with previous entries, remained virtually intact. Unlike those of Young and Charteris, Chessels' development (and Chessels himself) was part of a continuous line of contractor-developers, virtually unchanged over the century which divided him from the Milns, a conventional development on a conventional site, with only the proportions and internal finishes separating it from its predecessors.

With no change in the requirements for burgess ticket, new flatted houses for well-to-do traders had to be sited within the regality. Whereas in the almost rural Canongate, tracts of open ground were freely available, in the city proper large development sites were rare, and during this period only the demolished areas at the edges of Bridge Street allowed for major rebuilding, though many smaller sites continued to be redeveloped on or off the High Street. Ground in the Society, and other southern edges was expensive and already earmarked for the expansion of existing schemes. Only the Cowgate, mid-way between these and older distinguished neighbourhoods such as Parliament and Mint Close, had been left almost untouched since the late seventeenth century, and still offered a number of waste or ruinous buildings for redevelopment. Though known with High School waggishness as the "Cloaca Maxima"[422], it was still an important residential area, and had attracted the two most genteel public buildings of the 60s. In the early 1770s, some considerable tenements (in the modern sense of the word) were built on or just off both its north and south sides.

The southern group of new Cowgate buildings was loosely attached to Horse

Wynd. To its east, past Alexander Peters' houses, the Hastie's Close scheme of John Adam, built between the late 50s and 60s, lay behind the Cowgate front[423]. Until the late 60s, the close, together with Adam's Court as it was becoming known, contained residences of some major citizens, including Lord Kaimes, the Lord President, Lord Gray, Mr. Charles St Clair and Mr. Robert Chalmers, as well as lesser legal gentlemen, such as David Campbell WS, Patrick Crawford WS, William Wemyss WS, and James Erskine advocate who, in 1763, was "incroaching upon the area [Adam's] with a new building"[424]. Though, as can be seen from their complaints in the previous chapter, pressure on the minor nobility and gentry to move was rising, the more tolerant (and socially unassailable) remained; Lord Borthwick, the possessor of the first storey in Richardson's Land opposite Physician's gardens may have objected to the behaviour of his neighbour below, a baker who, he said "has taken upon him to paint on loaves up to your petitioners very windows and [has] also painted on loaves on the very turnpike of your petitioner's house", but, with unusual moderation, compared to other petitioners, he asked only that the baker be advised "he cannot paint on loaves or any other kind of bread above the joisting of his shop"[425]. Less secure in their status than Lord Borthwick, and perhaps for that reason less able to co-exist and much less moderate in their demands, the more recent acquirers of power had, by the early 70s, begun to move away to new houses better shielded from customary inelegancies in the Canongate and south side. But however depleted of the more sensitive, the Cowgate was still an attractive area for many of the richer merchants and tradesmen.

To the west of Horse Wynd, by the earlier developments of Mirtle and Reoch, Hunter's Land, a "crazy and ruinous" tenement of land fronting the Cowgate which had been condemned by the Procurator Fiscal in 1770, was rebuilt the following year by John Caitchen, carver, followed by a ruinous wright shop at the back of his new building in 1775[426] [fig. 77, 78]. Despite some trouble with the quality of work (done by Alexander Peacock, Thomas McInnes, and William Pirnie, masons), and a completely undecorated street facade, the new land had a certain proportional

elegance, a balance of doors, pend, and well on the ground nicely achieving a symmetrical arrangement of windows above to fit a completely asymmetrical plan, providing four five-roomed and four four-roomed houses all reached by a turnpike stair, with two three-roomed and one five-roomed shop-houses on the ground.

On the north of the Cowgate, a number of large tenements were erected behind the eminent lodgings off Parliament Close, a neighbourhood badly affected by the great fire of 1700. Some burnt lands still lay waste and Kirkheugh itself was waiting for the Council to decide on its development[427]. In 1766, James Stoddart, merchant and future provost (1774-6), had proposed to heighten Baillies Land[428] (a substantial structure fronting the Cowgate opposite the Magdalene Chapel), by one storey and build on his area to the rear[429], closely followed by his neighbour David Robertson, smith, who submitted a similar petition one month later[430] [figs. 79, 80]. But these alterations apart, it was in the first years of the 1770s that major changes to the area occurred. In 1770, Alexander Kincaid, H.M. Printer and Stationer for Scotland, another future Provost (1776-7), obtained permission to build a five-storied block on the site of some ruinous houses[431] a little west of Fishmarket Close[432]; of considerable length, it contained two three-roomed and four two-roomed ground floor shops, four four-roomed and four six-roomed houses [fig. 81]. Between 1770 and '73, three large new buildings were erected, all on old ruinous houses and tenements of land in Fishmarket Close[433]; the first, of four storeys and attic, had two two-roomed ground floor shops and four four-roomed houses; the second of five stories and garret had four five-roomed houses and two ground floor shops; the third, which belonged to Patrick Neal another printer, was a smaller, four-storied block on the east side, with windows to north, east and west [fig. 82]; and at the foot of the close, a tenement had its roof raised by one storey [fig. 83].

The full brunt of customary behaviour fell on this area at the north-west of the Cowgate, with much more serious effect than the harmless irritations to residents at the south-east end. During every food shortage, the meal market was stormed by the

mob, in simple, traditional and effective reaction to imminent starvation[434]. The last major riot had taken place in the famine of 1763 and had led, as it always did, to an attack on stores. Living in the vicinity of the market involved a certain risk to property, and opening up doors and windows into its large central court was "greatly prejudicial to the Public Interest on many different occasions" and particularly so during "the late moabs in the mercat", as the rashly optimistic proprietors of an adjacent house were informed the following year[435].

Excepting Adam's scheme, which was on par with the better Society houses, the Cowgate designs offered good, medium-sized, medium-priced, conventional accommodation in the centre of town for the large number of solid burgesses little affected by new patterns in living and working. A Cowgate copy of High Street front lands was forming, where the lack of gardens or large courts was compensated by the commercial advantage of a shop-dwelling on a main thoroughfare. Despite the apparent similarities, there were intrinsic differences between the burgh's two main streets which inevitably damaged the Cowgate's prospects: set on a ridge, the High Street was clear of dirt, overlooked back lands, and, though busy, was not a through route for the carriage of goods; by contrast, in a valley the Cowgate attracted dirt, was easily overshadowed, and was the main entry for livestock, corn, meal, fish, and travellers to market. The older mansions lining the street, even in their own less populated days, had turned inwards round courts. They were mostly of only two or three storeys, and had had gardens on the higher slopes which restricted overshadowing; seventeenth-century lands, though higher, were few, and most could still command the necessary garden ground. By replicating what was acceptable in the High Street, the Cowgate's developers of the early 1770s exaggerated the road's drawbacks and established a precedent which, in coming years, would turn a wide, thinly populated, high road into a seemingly narrow dark and overpopulated canyon.

The Grassmarket was in many respects similar to the Cowgate, but with much greater advantages; to the north, it backed onto the gardens of the minor nobility, and

to the south it benefitted from the pleasure grounds of Heriots. It too lay in a valley, but was much wider and therefore lighter and sunnier. The existing buildings were small, two or three-storied, and comparable in size and density to the Canongate's fabric. It was an area which had the potential to greatly improve its standing. Heriot's bridge, that, "Reservoir of Filth and Rotten Stench" had been removed and no longer formed "an Eye sore and a Nuisance not only to the Inhabitants but also to Strangers from every quarter who Choose either for business or pleasure to visit this Metropolis"; "free intercourse in that Neighbourhood and an uninterrupted view in one of the best Streets within the City" was no longer obstructed[436].

Unlike the Cowgate or Canongate, the Grassmarket seems to have had no history of major residences since the fifteenth century, with the exception of some of the many so-called "Temple lands", which Daniel Wilson described as a "long range of varied and antique tenements, some with bartizaned roofs and ornamental copings"[437]. It may have been one of the "best Streets" in size, but it was not a traditionally "good" area, nor, with the number of markets, livestock, and itinerants, was it likely to appeal to new tastes, particularly since it remained a place of public execution till the 1780s.

A rebuilding of 1762 gives some idea of the existing scale and layout[438] [figs. 84, 85]. None of the works carried out in the 1760s and early 1770s did much to change the Grassmarket's character; none were in any way comparable to the Canongate schemes of Chessels, Charteris, and Young. On the north side, which housed at least twelve stablers, by far the largest property was John Paxton's inn, west of Castle Wynd[439], made up of two tenements and stabling which had been rebuilt in 1751[440]. This established a street line which was maintained by the east and west "Temple" tenements, east of the wynd, in their rebuilding of 1770[441] [fig. 86]. On the south, where breweries rather than stables outnumbered some genteel accommodation, a few new houses were appearing alongside Heriot's entry; to its east a distillery was converted to dwelling houses in 1770, and more were built on a brewer's area in 1772[442] [fig. 87]. In all, the Grassmarket remained a busy, noisy, meeting place edged

with smallish, unpretentious buildings, and even the Highland kirk, its one new public building was almost exclusively for servants.

In the West Bow, that z-shaped link from the Grassmarket to the High Street which seemed to encourage extremes of styles in all eras, a scattering of decaying houses and waste sites was repaired and filled[443]. In a proposal which can be compared to Duncan Drummond's eight-room house and shop on the south side of Canongate[444] [fig. 88], the amazing misconceptions of William Smith's 1766 elevation formed a highly individualistic hotch-potch of contemporary and traditional taste, in light relief to the innumerable correctly austere or plain frontages of the period[445] [fig. 89].

Housing: Lesser Developments

One of the more notable but totally disregarded features of the era is the number of smaller schemes submitted to the court, often formal, and like the more expensive Canongate developments, formed round a court, or lining one side of a close. Nearly all replaced existing buildings - mostly markets or breweries - and were found in less populated areas, often on the edges between town and its surrounding baronies. Whereas previously mentioned developments were indisputably residences of the rich, the status of possessors of these smaller schemes is not immediately obvious.

Fairly intensive rebuilding fringed each major development, either because land was available, or encouraged by the reflected glory of their eminent neighbours. In Mausey Smith's Close, immediately east of Young Street, Maule's Land had had its defective chimney and back wall taken down and rebuilt in 1755, the adjoining Jack's Land which fronted the street, (owned by the same proprietors[446]), was pinned and harled in 1765, and behind these, on the west of the close, a plain house and shop had been erected in 1763 on the site of a ruinous Malt barn and kiln[447] [fig. 90].

On the east side of the close, proposals for a much larger scheme were submitted by James Ramsay, slater. On an area immediately north of Jack's Land he intended, in

1766, to lay out a linear development of six, three-roomed, single-storied houses with a shared "grass plot" at the rear of each double dwelling, then two detached two-storied houses of four rooms[448] [figs. 91, 92]. This was a formalised version of conventional small scale patterns: each house had an individual entry from the close; all had access to a small private open area; some were detached and some were linked. Ramsay seems to have worked in town as well as in the Canongate. In 1763, he was applying to build a tenement on the west side of Todrick's Wynd[449] [fig. 128], and in 1765, having obtained a warrant to build on an area at the head of Bell's Wynd, he sold it instead to the managers of the Assembly.

Just west of the site of Charteris' street, and only a few tenements east from Chessels' Court, Dallas Close was being altered by Andrew Hogg, brewer. He first re-used and added to his own brewery buildings in 1763, then three years later he demolished the greater part of some tenements further up the close, which he had bought from another brewer, to build a second house - warranted despite remarkably thin [or timber?] external walls[450] [fig. 93]. The same sort of work was being carried out in Baxter's Close, on the Canongate's north side, by another James Ramsay, mason in Canongate, one of the burgh's more prolific small builders of the period. He owned property in the Society[451], in Chancellor's Close[452] adjacent to the Marquis of Lothian's area near Canongate-foot, and, on the north side opposite in Baxter's Close, which, in 1762, he intended partly to demolish and rebuild[453] [fig. 94]. His new addition to an existing range of three-storied buildings had no remarkable features: it followed the existing line and thickness of walls, height, and size (two large fire rooms, which would probably be subdivided by closets on the upper storeys).

A final example of similar change was occurring about the close at Canongate-head where the fleshmarket had previously been held. A small one and a half storied range was raised by two storeys in 1765[454], and a new four-storied range was proposed in 1772[455], both fronting Leith Wynd which lay to the west; and in 1775, the southern part of the range backing on to the fleshmarket and fronting Coull's Close which lay

to to the east, was altered[456] [figs. 95, 96, 97]. Mason Ramsay's largest documented scheme was planned within the fleshmarket itself. Having bought the market enclosure and adjoining areas from the trustees for the creditors of the Society of Fleshers in Canongate at public roup in February 1765, he began building without permission, and early the following year was summoned by the Procurator Fiscal. In April 1766, with full apologies and assurances of having had "no bad intent or disrespect", he successfully petitioned the court for a retrospective warrant[457] [fig. 98]. His work within the market walls was extremely crude: four adjoining blocks were crammed into the area leaving an approximately three metre wide central space; internally, though each three or four-roomed house was of reasonable size, new partitions were run into original windows openings and some rooms had very awkward layouts. Two detached five-storied tenements north of the market had more formal plans; the northmost was symmetrical, and (though the elevation is unknown) was probably a larger, cruder, version of Chessels' front land. Ramsay's work within the market space can be compared to two similar schemes: a Potterrow proposal of 1767 with the same problems of site was made up of seven new blocks of what were probably one or two-room houses also in re-used brewery buildings[458] [fig. 99]; the other, built the following year on the site of some old houses and areas behind an existing dwelling house on the north back of Canongate, contained at least nine, three or four-roomed houses and four, one-roomed houses or shops round a small court, "leaving a sufficient entry to Calton hill"[459] [fig. 100].

No more is known of Ramsay's work. Like Chessels and the other (slater) Ramsey he was a developer-builder, but unlike them his buildings are basic, and their plans show only the desire to fit as much accommodation as possible into the available area - an unsophisticated overuse of sites whether judged by old or new attitudes to space.

The development of Fleshmarket Close continued. Six years later in 1772, a new scheme was submitted for the site of the two detached blocks which Ramsay had never completed[460]; ten two-roomed, two three-roomed, and two four-roomed houses were

arranged formally round a twenty foot wide central court, with fore-stairs from the court to the upper dwellings, and all of the smallest houses facing into it [fig. 101]. A similar arrangement, though on a larger scale, with four shops and sixteen four-room houses had been built ten years before in Portsburgh[461] [fig. 102]. Despite the formality of their organisation, these two designs link back to small houses similar to those being demolished in the Grassmarket; entered off a shared close or court, each, however tiny, had an individual entrance. Like the more expensive schemes, they were inward looking, each forming a small, self-contained, community, where the self-regulation of good neighbourhood could easily be achieved.

"Houses-in-Themselves"

If, as was implied in contemporary references to the new suburbs and public buildings, it was an increasingly common perception of the more affluent that residents or functions of a certain status had to have a particular environment - that having a particular environment conferred status and not having a particular environment detracted from status - then the siting and appearance of houses for the less affluent, and manufactories, workshops, and inns, had a crucial effect on their immediate neighbourhood. Dwellings were beginning to be seen as desirable or undesirable not through any change in accommodation, finishes, or condition, but because of isolation from or proximity to buildings of perceived lower status.

Areas of town with few buildings still had to have a social character impressed upon them, fixed by whatever status of development took place. Speculative building of expensive accommodation thus became a lottery, where success, regardless of quality, depended on the whim of adjoining proprietors, on what type of development they decided to allow on their ground.

The Marquis of Lothian, last of the greater nobility to have a new house built for his own use within the bounds of Edinburgh, spent the years from 1765 to his death

in 1767[462] acquiring and altering surrounding property to his own needs. He appears to have already owned a lodging on the site[463], west of Horse Wynd (the second of the same name) on the south of Canongate-foot, before the new block was erected in or about 1765[464]. There were five main contiguous proprietors - Miss Ross, William Miller, seedsman, James Reid, coachwright, James Ramsay, mason in Canongate, and Francis Brodie, wright. With the first three, his relations seemed cordial; co-proprietor and co-petitioner with Miller in 1765; purchasing part of Miss Ross's property in 1766; and buying then demolishing the site where Reid was going to build by 1772[465]. With Ramsay and Brodie, he was frequently in dispute over boundaries, repairs[466], and the effect of new buildings on his ground[467]. The work continued after his death, and by 1773, the new Marquis had virtually completed re-organising the property with the demolition of some small dilapidated buildings to the north, in or about Chancellor's Close[468] [fig. 103]. The front lands had all been left intact, and the smaller back lands had been replaced by stables, and offices. No information has as yet been found on the appearance of the house itself.

Though the Marquis may have preferred no neighbours on his east bounds, Brodie's new building fronting Horse Wynd, which had been delayed for four years by Lothian's complaints, was at last begun in 1772 [fig. 104, 105]. It was a plain but sophisticated design, keeping clear of an existing close, allowing for the widening of Horse Wynd required by the Procurator fiscal, meeting Lothian's demands, and providing four and five-roomed houses with the maximum use of space combined with internal and external symmetry.

On the other side of Canongate nearly opposite Milton's house, a smaller dwelling was erected by John Callendar of Craigforth in 1763, on part of ruinous property and grounds which had belonged to the Earl of Winton[469], (attainted for his part in the 1715 uprising[470]). The interest in his proposal for a small detached villa lies mainly in its use of the site, the house placed centrally in the large grounds and formally approached by a pend through the new front land of Gilbert Duncan - after the

seemingly inevitable arguments on boundaries and access[471] [fig. 106]. Callendar's house was finished by 1767, put up for sale almost immediately[472], and eventually sold, in 1769, to Sir William Cunnynghame[473].

As with other schemes of note, the property around Callendar's house was being intensively redeveloped. The second front land to the east of Duncan's was rebuilt as two, four-storied, nine-roomed houses with all modern conveniences, and a line of coach-houses and stables along Callendar's east boundary was modified the following year[474] [figs. 107, 108]. On Callendar's west limits, part of the low range along Mallochies Close was rebuilt as a three and a half-storied house (ie. with two wall-head dormers), with two fire rooms and two lit closets to each floor[475].

In 1766, proposals for the eastward part of Winton's area were submitted by Duncan Drummond, wright, for himself and John Grant, an Exchequer baron[476] [fig. 109]. Though, from maps, Callendar's house can be seen to have been extended in the late 60s, it is not known whether or not these particular elevations were built, amended, or superseded. Drummond's Wintons area drawings can be compared to James Brown's 1762 design for John Pringle in the Society, and the later 1772 design for Hugh Dalrymple of ffordel between Bristo and Potterrow[477] [figs. 110, 111]. The last combined grand internal spaces, impeccable symmetry, and facades almost completely lacking decoration other than a play of light and shade on the complicated massing. Within the six year span, the classical villa prototype, rustically interpreted, which had been strewn around the more select districts of the city for the past forty years had evolved into an austere, sophisticated, almost neo-classical form. Wild economic expansion together with the new internationalism of designers' training would appear to have had their logical hot-house effect on an architectural style previously stunted by artistic isolation and a backward economy.

Despite the new houses available to north and south, and despite restraints imposed by the old framework, the city centre maintained its attractions. On the evidence of building applications, changing attitudes to status and their implications for

architectural context in the 1760s and 1770s were still confined to a small part of society's middle ranks. Within the town, the traditional rough grading of areas by mediaeval convenience and function continued; Castlehill, the conventional area of nobility, and Lawnmarket, of gentility, as yet showed little loss of appeal, and a trickle of new single houses of status continued to surface.

Gosford Close, whose residents included Lord Belhaven in 1761[478], Ladies Catherine and Anne Hay, and George, the fifth Marquis of Tweedale in 1773[479], had as many if not more inhabitants of social standing as any of the Canongate developments. In 1774, seven years after the feuing of the extended regality, Thomas Rigg of Morton submitted drawings of his intended new lodging at the foot of the close, east of the Bank of Scotland's grounds[480] [fig. 112]. The house was separated from neighbouring buildings by a small sunken area and court to the north, and the close to the east; on the west, it overlooked the bank's terraced grounds[481] and to the south lay Rigg's own fairly large garden, with "a statue in the middle, and a summer house at the bottom"[482]. Built on the site of Rigg's old property, two-storied to the north and four to the south, it was said by Grant to be the work of Robert Kay; "The dining and drawing rooms were spacious; indeed more so than those of any private modern house we have seen [in 1880]. The lobbies were all variegated marble, and a splendid mahogany staircase led to the upper storey". Although formal and symmetrical in itself, the west side of the facade was obscured by adjacent buildings except when viewed from the tiny front court. The inclusion of close head and foot in the elevational drawings are an interesting and unusual feature; despite Rigg's gentility, neither he nor his designer thought it necessary to divorce the new building from its architecturally incoherent surroundings.

A odd compromise of the period was found in a number of paired houses, all of which repeated the aesthetic of Rigg's plain horizontal facade with classical door piece - as can be seen in Young Street, in the paired houses of Alan Ramsay on the site of the former bell-house in Castlehill in 1765[483], of William Mylne in High School Yards

in 1767[484], and of William Jameson at the foot of Lady Stair's Close in 1765[485] [figs. 113, 114]. (Permission was given for Jamieson's building providing it did not "hurt the light or prospect of Lady Philiphaugh's lodging", as she "paid even more for it than the house was worth had it not been for the agreeable situation and fine prospect it commands"[486].) The two tenants became Siamese twins, physically and socially inseparable, while the only obvious benefit went to the developer who saved approximately one eighth of the cost of external walls. In many ways, this could be considered a minimal version of seventeenth-century amalgamations of space for social benefit - like Miln's Court - for those who could not quite afford the state of splendid isolation, or perhaps could not quite bear the novelty of complete separation from their neighbours.

Despite significant differences in their external appearance and internal planning and decoration, the position of these houses in the framework, unseen from the street, extending existing closes, and taking large garden grounds, was, in effect, merely yet another contemporary variation on historic lines of development, causing no upset to the traditional social or aesthetic general pattern.

A few, small, single houses, sandwiched between existing gables were also proposed; nearly all, like the house for John Learmonth, merchant, in St. Mary's Wynd[487] [fig. 115], seem to have combined shop and dwelling. An unbuilt design of the Butters for Merchiston's Land at the head of Todrig's Wynd[488], was supplanted in 1771 by an entirely conventional refronting[489] [fig. 116]. Shop and workshop-houses will be discussed further in the next section.

Manufactories and Workshops

Despite the growing strength of commerce and industry, few manufactories are mentioned in warrants between 1760 and 1775 and no new buildings are specified. In judging complaints, the Guild Court was less wholeheartedly on the side of trades

against residents than it had been the previous era; when Sir John Stewart of Allanbank, supported by the Procurator Fiscal, protested that a stocking weaver had

> "erected in the Storry immediately below [Stewart's lodging on the second flat of a tenement near the head of Cowgate] one or more looms... which he or others his servants work day by and late at night at, which is a great nuisance and annoyance as the Complainant and his family are thereby very much disturbed and which is a prejudice to the house..",

instead of dismissing the charge, as had been done in the similar case of Miln's Land in the 1750s, the court reserved judgement as the defender already intended to move the next Whitsun[490]. Another complaint, against the starting up of "a Chandelary and Soaperie work" at the foot of Watsons Close, immediately east of Chessels' Court, that "large pile of buildings in Canongate ... partly possessed by the Commissioners and Board of Excise and partly by private families of Rank and Character.."[491] which, said Chessels' daughter with meaning, "contributes very considerably to the Revenues as well as the ornament of the said city..." was dealt with more easily being clearly against the Act of 1621, forbidding central areas to candlemakers. There may have been a discrepancy between the view of the defender - who was ordered to remove his works under penalty of £50 sterling for re-offending - and the court on whether south back of Canongate constituted the centre of the city, but this does not appear in the warrant papers.

As part of the city's improvements, a new tripe market was planned on the west side of the laigh fleshmarket, at the foot of Fleshmarket Close on the north of the High Street[492] [fig. 117]. This area near the centre of town lay at the foot of the slope well below the houses above, alongside the line of the new north bridge, and being reasonably accessible, was a popular site for workshops and yards. To the west of the markets, John Adam had built a new bakehouse for the Incorporation of Baxters at the foot of Anchor Close in 1761, which, in 1763, was being undermined by the building

works of its neighbour to the west, James Tait, wright[493] [fig. 118]. Tait's work house and area lay next to the property of Thomas Heriot, another wright, who, two years later, was building a neat two-storied house in the yard of his wright's shop, at the foot of Pearson's Close[494], next to his "present" house [fig. 119]. In 1766, Heriot sold the area and small house to the east of his new house (adjoining Tait's to the west) to Elias and William Scott, plumbers, who used it to erect yet another two-storied building[495] [fig. 120]. All site plans show the same pattern of yards, sheds and small work houses[496], and only the gradual raising of the smallest buildings by one or two stories altered its appearance between 1760 and 1775. (As was done in 1770, when an "insufficient" flesher's booth was repaired and raised from one to three storeys[497] [fig. 121].

At the eastern side of the bridge, the same rich mix of houses, shops, and yards were more thoroughly blended together. On the west, high lands with larger, more expensive, flatted houses such as the still popular Miln's Square stayed at the top of the slope, many stories higher than the single houses, shops, and markets clustered at their feet, and set apart by layers of underbuilding filled with cellars. On the east, these were also found on lower slopes, causing problems not experienced on the west. The hazards involved in the carrying out of some trades were a closer threat (and more visible) to rich householders. In Carrubber's Close, they had already suffered badly in 1758, when the wright shop of William Reoch was totally destroyed by fire, taking with it four other tenements and damaging several others[498], and it was six years before Reoch could overcome the objections of his neighbours to the rebuilding of his shop[499] [figs. 122, 123]. (An example of an extremely open wrights shop was planned for the less populated grounds of Bristo in 1775[500] [fig. 124].) In 1760, Reoch and another wright, Charles Butters, were involved with Thomas Foggo, a merchant, in the re-erection of one of the burnt-out buildings near the top of the close. Yet more complaints came from adjoining heritors on the new land's height - six rather than the five stories given warrant - but the scheme was allowed to proceed[501]. One of the

first to occupy a house in Butters' new land at the foot of the close was the Lady Jean Leslie for, despite the wrights' shops, the close was still inhabited by the traditional mixture of ranks[502].

Both Reoch and Butters themselves were long established residents in Carrubber's Close, purchasing areas and extending their workshops at its foot since the late 1740s[503]. Butters, at the foot of the close, was a much lesser fire risk, and seems to have had no problems with increasing his workshops. In 1767, he proposed to take down and rebuild "St Andrew's Meeting house or Chapel", which in its earlier life had been the short-lived playhouse of Allan Ramsay[504] [fig. 125]. Since the same building is said to have become the home of, amongst others, the Berean, the Rowite, and the Relief and Secession congregations, a Roman Catholic preaching station, and, in its final years, a meeting place for the Carrubber's Close mission until it was eventually demolished in the late nineteenth century to make way for Jeffrey Street[505], it is likely that only minor repairs and alterations actually took place. Further to the east, the ground was less intensely used, and some small houses were built in a manner similar to Heriot's in Pearson's Close, on areas adjoining the workshops of their owners, like that of Robert Selby, plumber, at the foot of Baillie ffyfe's Close, and that of John Miln, founder, at the foot of Barrenger's Close[506] [figs. 126, 127].

It is worth noting that during this period of transition, a few new buildings continued to combine a good-sized dwelling with not only ground floor shops, but also stables and warerooms, an indication that their moderately affluent owners (from the size of the house) still saw no need to detach their domestic life from their livelihood. Examples range from a small building of 1767, in north back Canongate, with warerooms or stables on the ground floor and a good sized house above[507], to the design of slater Ramsay in Todrick's Wynd [fig. 128].

Stables

Whatever the effect of about a thousand carriages on the city's fabric and daily life, they were of enormous benefit to the trades of stablers, coach and wheel wrights. As well as profiting from growing domestic demand, coach builders were creating a major export industry. Three coachmakers dominated trade in the 60s: James Reid had been established in north Canongate since at least the late 40s, expanding in 1755, and again in 1769[508], when the front land was also raised one storey [fig. 129]; Alexander Crichton enlarged his workhouses in south Canongate in the early 60s [fig. 130], and these were joined, in the mid 70s, by stables and coach houses built by William Jamieson for the Customs Commissioners on adjacent ground to the east[509]; John Home, now the most famous of the three, had his yards and dwelling house east of St. Mary's Wynd from before 1753, and during the next fifteen years bought and converted adjacent property[510].

As well as their houses, workshops and yards within the city, these men were the owners of quite extensive holdings of land on the southern outskirts beyond the city wall[511]. John Home owned the hamlet of Rosebank, on the south-east corner of Mayfield loan, and Alexander Crichton with his brother William, an alderman in London, inherited the lands of Newington from his father Patrick Crichton saddler, who had bought them in 1751. Crichton became financially embarrassed and tried to sell in 1772[512].

Various stablers, who could also act as innkeepers, built up their accommodation, usually beside these large coachyards: James Boyd owned Hamiltons Land, next to the yard of Robert Gibb, coachmaster, in Haliburtons Close in the 50s, then bought the tenement and area at the foot of his close in 1766, adjacent to John Home[513], and Patrick Ramsay was involved in 1764 with two masons, Hunter and Wilson, who the following year demolished coach houses and stables in Forsyths Close to make way for new houses[514]. As many, if not more, new stables and coach houses were built as were being removed. Some like the Hon. Alexander Gordon, advocate, and Thomas Tod, merchant, built their coach houses and stable on open ground, in their case on

the east side of a park belonging to Alan Ramsay, on the north side of Castle Hill[515], and an elegant little stable was designed for John Syme, Clerk to the Signet, in Young Street[516] [fig. 131]. Others, by filling in the courts and areas nearer the centre came up against the dense and convoluted network of access rights; William Cochran, advocate, the tenant of a World's End Close lodging, in building a stable on the north west of his north area encroached on his neighbour's right of entry, 6'6" broad, by a "Great Gate" from Swift's Close to the back or south door of his house. In addition, the factor for the owner, a house carpenter in Jamaica, claimed that the stable would be immediately in front of the "Principal Windows, which will be greatly darkened by the new Building, nor can a Horse be turned without endangering the low windows", that dung would have to be removed along the passage, and that the paving would be destroyed by horses coming in and out[517]. In the town's centre itself, Martin Eccles, surgeon, claimed he had had to strike a large hole in the wester side wall of the great tenement east of the fishmarket as the space was used as a stable "and it was so small and confined that the creature was almost suffocated" (he also claimed that Deacon Jamieson had approved when consulted[518]).

Repairs, Roofs, Raising, and Refronting

The recurrent theme of chimneys and vents - the nuisance of smoke and the danger of fire - permeates petitions of the 1770s. Rival specialists were called in as "doctors" to heighten, rebuild, or instal "machines"[519] at chimney-heads. The owner of a fourth storey house "greatly distressed by smoke ever since the new or Royal Bank was built", in his complaint against the Boxmaster of the City Sootymen and others, explained that he had "employed the most skilful workmen and smoke Doctors..who took down and rebuilt the braces of his chimnies and tryed every other experiment that could be thought of". Finally the Chimney heads were raised with brick about two feet above the stone coping, which helped, but "under Cloud and silence of night" the brick had

been taken down and carried off by the sootymen by order of a neighbouring proprietor[520]. In contrast, the tenants of the first and third storey houses in Fishers Land were "perfectly free from Smoke but within this month [now experience] ... such a degree of smoke in each room as renders their houses almost uninhabitable" due to illegal superstructures on the chimneys, which the court then ordered to be removed.

Stolen vents, with the owners of laigh shops usually to blame, were said to put other owners "in daily hazard of being burnt" and could incur a fine of £100 scots[521]. Some of the more extreme cases show how justified this fear could be. In the West Bow, a fore shop with no vent, "struck out a place for fire and conveyed smoke by a white Iron Funnel under the floor of [the] petitioners rooms [with the result that] the whole house not only is filled with smoke but in danger of fire"[522]. (An example of a fully warranted vent was thirty feet long and eight inches wide, and made of eight plates of copper, each of eleven or "to make it more substantial" sixteen pounds in weight.) A Canongate chimney "which is made up of timber and clay" was ruled both dangerous and illegal and had to be taken down within fourteen days[523]. A third example from the period shows how the fire risk was increasing with changing use of space and social customs. In Home's Land, each lodging had a garret for lumber, but the possessor of the first floor, which was let as rooms, (the rest of the land being wholly occupied by proprietors) had hired out her garret to "some very poor people, now two ormolu engravers ..to the terror and disturbance of your petitioner and her family", who had lived "for forty years past with no complaint" in the fore lodging in the fifth storey; she complained that "The Machine they work with creates so much noise that no family can support it ... so great that it often makes whole chairs and tables move in a very violent manner", that they worked from five or six am till late at night, and above all, that "either throu Poverty or Profligacy [they] have not been able to procure a grate to contain their fire in [so] They make use of a Choffer[?] which they place on a piece of wood in the middle of the floor to the imminent danger of burning the whole Land and neighbourhood." The court ordered both machine and

choffer to be removed on fine of £20 scots[524]. By 1773, "That from the late melancholy accidents happening from the falling down of Vents etc The Possibility of sundry Tenants in Edinburgh having taken the Alarum that their houses are not sufficient", proprietors were voluntarily asking the Guild court to inspect and recommend the neccessary action[525].

Seemingly every conceivable complaint of roofing is made in petitions between 1760 and 1775; against ruinous, insufficient, too irregular, too high, too low, lead, slate and tile roofs. A few were dangerous; Crichton the coachmaker had "sclates falling upon the ... workhouse ... which breaks tyles and my servants go in danger of their lives"[526]. Repairs were normally the sole responsibility of the upppermost storey, but when, as in Carruber's Land, its proprietor was "very poor and unable to be at the expense of putting on a new roof" (see note 154), they were funded by the other heritors and the expense declared a real and preferable debt on the property. In the rebuilding of fire damaged Buchanan's Land, the court enforced the five storey limit and refused the heritors' proposal,

> "to keep the same height of roofs ... Only in place of carrying up the fifth storey in the way of stormonts as formerly, it is now proposed that the front wall will be carried up to a level all the way along..".

The uppermost proprietor, Mr Hume, had "acquiesced as he did not think his property worth rebuilding or it would repay putting up and upholding so great a roof". The owner of the floor below then fought back vigorously but unsuccessfully, as "Mr. Hume appeared to be deprived of his property altogether so the petitioner would be burdened with the roof", and he argued that since the buildings on either side were five storeys above the shops,

> "it would be neither useful nor ornamental to the publick or any person whatsoever to confine the building of this tenement to four storeys above the shops but on the contrary

would be a deformity to the street"[527].

The court may not always have maintained the same impartiality; objectors to the proposed height of a new building at the head of North Bridge, after quoting the 1698 Act, observed that,

> "On a survey of several of the Tenements lately built and even fronting the High Street particularly those at the head of fflesh Market Close, ffish market Close [both Miln work], Lord Strichens Close one would naturally conclude that no such Act of parliament was in being, that the Dean of Guild and his Council had no Rule to direct them in their granting their Jedges and Warrants."[528]

All over the city, lower roofs were being raised to the legal limit by anything from a few feet to two storeys, on all types of buildings from breweries in Potterrow, to Pringle's villa in the Society. More typical of the common housing stock was the high tenement of James Rattray, brewer, in the close almost opposite the new stairs in the Cowgate, where the dilapidated roof was taken off and rebuilt eight feet higher, the Canongate tenement by Reid's Yard, and the low, older tenement of Alexander Alison in old Assembly Close, both rebuilt one storey higher[529] **[figs. 132, 133, 134]**.

As in the previous era, most, like John Simpson, carried out the work "to indemnify me in part for the expense" of repairing defective roofing[530]. Leadwork continued to be a problem, renewed on platforms in the Grassmarket, Cant's and Boyd's Close[531], or replaced with slate pitches in Niddry's Wynd, Heriot's Bridge, and Cellar's Close[532]. In the case of an old house near the Netherbow, with a platform covered with lead "now ruinous", the original intention to raise the roof and cover it with slate was vetoed as the court ruled that the building could not support the additional stress. With a distinct lack of optimism, the owner then applied to "cover the whole platform with Gray Paper the thickness of some sheets laid over with Sea Sand which will last as long as the house"[533]. Unfortunately, less attention was paid to similar warnings

in a 1766 report on the Abbey church to the Barons of Exchequer, stating that the load of a flag stone roof put on in 1758 was too heavy and that the walls would fail[534]. No action was taken and in 1768, the building collapsed.

The attack on timber fronts and outshoots continued, and though the tenant of a lodging in Burn's Land, Forrester's Wynd, where "the Rain in wet weather comes into the principal Room in such a manner as totally to overflow it" was allowed "to employ proper Tradesmen to plaister the Timber south front..and to make tight and repair the timber spout projecting over the said front and retain the expense out of rent", dilapidated timberwork was more usually taken down and replaced with stone or brick. More representative were the cases of "not only the timber projection or out shot but the whole of the tenement" on the south side of the Netherbow, being "out of Plumb and in a dangerous condition like to fall down"[535], and the front of an old timber tenement in Alison's Close, Cowgate[536], where both were rebuilt with stone and lime. In World's End Close, the former house of Sir David Dalrymple was brought into line with contemporary genteel taste in 1762[537] **[fig. 135]**.

Many owners took the opportunity to gain more ground floor space by extending their fronts to the pillars or posts supporting the timber projections above; shops at the head of Chalmer's and Carubber's Close in 1760, one a little above the north side of Netherbow and another immediately west of the Tron Kirk in 1764, in Seaton's Land, west of Young Street in 1769, its neighbour to the east in 1773, and Hamilton's Land, east of Kinloch's Close in 1775[538], all applied for permission to extend their shop fronts. These petitions were nearly always approved as the new stone walls prepared the way for complete refacing at a later date.

Summary

> "...the great and universal cause of the corruption of our moral sentiments [lies in the] disposition to admire and almost to worship the rich and the powerful and to despise

or at least to neglect persons of poor and mean conditions."[539]

By 1775, the only real risk to person or property was social and financial. With no common physical dangers left to face, the citizens' interdependence was deeply compromised. Burgh leaders' livelihood was now only loosely tied to the successful protection of burgess' rights; many owed their position to financial speculation - in banking or West Indies trade - and their interests were better served by breaking rather than supporting an introverted burgh community. Whereas the gulf between the feudal third estate and the nobility had been, with very few exceptions, as unbridgeable financially as socially, a notable amount of the new men were accumulating almost equally vast fortunes, on paper if not in land. As the wealth of these financial barons drew them nearer to the social position of the lesser nobility, it drew them further from more traditional members of the middle ranks, and widened the rift between those whose way of life was virtually indistinguishable from that of their forefathers, and those whose livelihood, attitudes, and now resources were radically different. As early as 1755, Robert Adam had been advising his sister Peggy to be ruthless in abandoning old friends "who will be every day less and less troublesome as they perceive an increase of better company frequenting you. They will insensibly decrease the number of their visits till at last they drop all intercourse and only look on you as patrons, not friends, ask and court your protection, not desire or hope for your conversation"[540]. Many others were following the same advice.

The code of rational humanism, which in the first half of the century had inextricably linked the improvement of the individual's lot with the health of the common weal, was similarly compromised. Islay and Milton had exemplified Mandeville's argument; that public benefit could come from private vice only if a statesman steered the course of private interest[541]. The 60s were without leaders of note, and the impetus of the decade's frenetic activity was unimagined wealth or its promise. With no control of private interest, and no decline in private vice, public

benefit suffered. Since, without attention, the condition of the less fortunate was liable to deteriorate, it was becoming necessary to segregate not only the domestic interior but the street and eventually whole areas, if this were not to affect the living conditions of the leadership itself - and if their pretensions to status, like the Emperor's new clothes, were to be protected from the unconvinced voice of the crowd.

The first signs of segregation were appearing in each of the ten city parishes through movement almost solely of certain sections of the middle class. Few of the remaining lesser nobility moved from their customary residences, though a handful of dowagers become possessors of houses in the Canongate and the south side (see Chapter 6). Most new houses were taken by those merchants, doctors, and lawyers, who had filled positions left by the departed aristocracy. As rising men became concentrated in outlying parishes, previously mixed central areas were left bereft of residents with a voice in the running of the city. This led to an incongruous situation, for as yet, old habits still confined the new hierarchy, and old leaders easily outranked it in the location of exclusive places of entertainment; new buildings for the more prominent institutions were still being placed near the centre of town, in areas slowly becoming almost exclusively populated by the lower ranks.

Only the Cowgate showed the beginnings of a fundamental alteration in physical character, but some lesser developments particularly at Canongate-head, were indicating that the laws of good neighbourhood were being less stringently applied in areas without influential residents. All the new exclusively genteel accommodation conformed to the general pattern of the framework, while differing from it in detail, and though open space was filling up and the social mix becoming less intense, the town was proving itself flexible enough to accommodate massive redevelopment without loss of integrity.

CHAPTER 5.

"Polished Manners and Growing Wealth", The Suburbs, 1761-1793.

Though buildings outwith the old regality are not strictly the concern of this thesis, it is impossible to detach an appraisal of the old fabric from the effect they had on it. The following Chapter therefore attempts to analyze the major developments to north and south only in so far as they shed light on the parallel evolution of the city proper.

1761 - 1775

From the end of 1764, connections between the new road and plans to build north of the loch were openly acknowledged. The Council declared its intention to recoup expenditure on the bridge by feuing neighbouring lots[542], and in 1767, the long disputed extension to the royalty was finally agreed[543]. Severed from the older framework by the Nor' loch valley, the situation of this northern ground gave the freedom to design an entirely new, formally consistent scheme, genteel residential suburbs which could resolve, in principle, both the aesthetic and practical dilemma of aspirants to new forms of status. But from the very conception of this new suburb, contradictions existed between the stated aims and their implementation - contradictions which were drastically to affect the future growth not only of the suburbs but of the city proper.

In the argument of the writer of the *Proposals*, the main benefit of "beauty and convenience" as discussed in Chapter Three, came from their ability to attract the

"principal families" away from London to Edinburgh. This, it was suggested, would increase the population, and that,

> "A great concourse of people brought within a small compass occasions a much greater consumption than the same number would do dispersed over a wide country. As the consumption is greater so is it quicker and more discernable. Hence follows a more rapid circulation of money and other commodities, the great spring which gives motion to general industry and improvement."

It was a commonly held theory of the time, very similar, though the scale is different, to a surveyor's report to the Commissioners of the Forfeited Estates[544], that a village "properly encouraged" in Deeside, "could not miss to attract strangers of different professions from many corners, and would consequently soon diffuse a spirit of trade and industry, as well as promote agriculture, through all this extensive country". But in Edinburgh there was an explicit proposal to segregate classes by area;

> "People of fortune, and of a certain rank, will probably chuse to build upon the fine fields which lie to the north and south of the town: but men of professions and business of every kind, will still incline to live in the neighbourhood of the exchange, of the courts of justice, and other places of public resort..."[545].

Whereas planned villages were designed to encourage work for and by the rural poor, the new north suburb was destined for those who consumed the fruits of industry not those who produced them. Moreover, these were consumers who specifically wished to separate their domestic life from the rude mechanics of production as far as possible. The more "people of fortune and of a certain rank" attracted to the area, and the more work commissioned, the more tradesmen ready to supply their needs would gravitate to their immediate area. Thus the suburb's rapid loss of exclusivity, even more than Beauty and Convenience its proposed major advantage, was inevitable

unless some means were found to fortify gentility from commercial intruders.

Even more inconsistandes arose when the scheme took form. In comparison to most of its near contemporaries of equivalent size, the character of the chosen layout, a grid designed by James Craig, was unsophisticated in its intentions, whether seen as city or as suburb[546]. As a metropolitan quarter, it had none of the attributes of a city[547] [fig. 136]. The plan had no links, axial or functional, with any of the centres of civic life - the High Kirk, the Courts, the Exchange - or with the civic space - Parliament Close - nor had any substitutes within its bounds, apart from two churches, been planned for or even proposed. There was an almost complete lack of emphasis in its streets and spaces, with only two potential architectural high points - on the eastern and western ends of the George Street axis - both of which were marked for religious rather than civic purposes. With these and the other exception of the less than modest focus on the city's washing drying on the Calton Hill, looking east from Princes Street, the many vistas were interchangeable, all petering out in an attractive but unframed panorama, none with any plan to terminate them by an architectural or civic feature.

As a suburb, the plan was monotone; there were no sites of particular note (except the two already mentioned) and no scope for mansions. Most houses faced onto open-ended thoroughfares, or squares cut into by five roads too large and too open to provide much, if any, privacy. The sites themselves were of very restricted depth which allowed little garden ground, and no possibility of front courts to subdue the noise of the street.

The most extraordinary characteristic of Craig's plan was its disregard of the long established settlement on which its very existence depended. Streets within the new scheme, far from leading to or from places of which the inhabitants had need for the healthy operation of civic life, led nowhere in particular, and their siting made no concession to the only high road passing its bounds, the vital connection to the city, to the south, and to Leith. Setting it away from the path of traffic might have helped the scheme to work as a giant version of the self-contained George Square, a purely

residential suburb for staying in, not going through, but its very size and layout drew in traffic. Princes Street - the one clear connection with the bridge - was effectively forced to become the main funnel of traffic from the city to the rest of the suburb, with a resulting noise and lack of privacy which discouraged residents and encouraged commerce. In all, the scheme's perfect symmetry was achieved in the most rudimentary way, with a lack of contextual design for which, since it was merely a suburb, subordinate to the city proper, not the "new town" its title claimed, it began to suffer almost immediately.

In 1768, the marking out of areas and streets was completed, with some freedom allowed in the width of sites, "for as people's taste in building is so different, that it is not possible to lay down a fixed and determined rule of what dimensions each lot should be, every person should be allowed to take so many feet in front as they wish"[548]. In view of the limitations of the overall plan, it is not surprising that the opportunity for large frontages was ignored; the eastern burgh, the Canongate, and even Castlehill offered many sites with much greater gardens, sunlight and privacy, and it was in these areas that nearly all the remaining aristocrats chose to stay. The only area in the whole layout with the possibility of grounds (which also commanded the central vista), had been feued by Sir Laurence Dundas in September 1767 (for £450), next to land he had bought earlier in year before Craig's plan was accepted. Dundas, the son of a baillie, had acquired a large fortune during his office as Commissary-general of the army in Flanders from 1748 to 1759, and had become Edinburgh's Member in 1766. Using his first property as garden ground, building started on the second in 1772 to plans of William Chambers, with Walter Jamieson as mason [fig. 137]. According to hierarchical rules of classical composition, by the siting and architectural quality of his house, Dundas now dominated the whole suburb; the position of first importance had been mischievously taken by a man who, however affluent, in terms of national power was a fairly minor official.

The first buildings, with the exception of Dundas' house, seem to have been cruder

versions of the double units of Mylne, Jamieson, and those in Young Street, but with lesser grounds, and less breaks between adjoining properties, which both considerably diminished privacy. All the earlier buildings, in a view from fifty years later, were "of what is called *ruble work*, not much finer in their construction than the primitive fabrics of Brown's Square", and, says the writer, "*main doors* (now so important) were not at all thought of, and many of the houses in Prince's Street had only common stairs, entering from the Mews Lane behind"[549]. In all, there was little change from city dwellings. Even the old obsessive problems of mutual gables, chimneys, and vent encroachments jumped the Nor' loch's cordon sanitaire and bedeviled the first years' warrants, each developer unsure of what allowance should be made in shared gables for their yet unbuilt adjoining neighbours.

Far from enticing "strangers chiefly, and persons of considerable rank" to bolster the city's finances as was intended, the great scheme had overwhemingly filled with the very "men of professions and business of every kind", the aspiring members of the third estate, the middle classes, who, according to the *Proposals*, should have been inclined to live in the neighbourhood of the Exchange and Courts[550], and the old regality, which nearly all the new suburbanites had formerly inhabited, soon became drained not only of its merchants and professionals, but also, eventually, of its more thriving shops and businesses.

The development of the "new town" has been charted by Professor Youngson, and as it is not central to this thesis, will not be examined in detail. For the first decade, its progress was slow: twenty-four lots were feued in 1767, and ten the following year[551]; feuing then slowed to a trickle due to the collapse of the bridge, followed by the Ayr Bank's failure, then the American war of 1775, and did not revive till the late 70s. The full impact of the north suburb on the city proper was thus delayed for another decade.

Almost as soon as building started in the new regality, the providers of consumables

did indeed begin to creep towards their consumers. Between 1769 and 1770, 162 feet of Princes Street frontage had been acquired at the north end of the bridge, where ground was not only open but had direct and relatively easy access to the city, the suburb, and the port, all natural attractions for developers and commerce. Most was to be used for lesser buildings - cheaper housing, warehouses, and workshops. Gentility was under attack and the suburb did indeed begin to fortify. In October 1771, led by Sir William Forbes, banker, fourteen of the first suburbanites applied for a bill of suspension and interdict to stop this work, as;

> "no buildings were to be erected to the south of Princes Street, by which means the proprietors of houses on that street in particular, would enjoy advantages which they considered of the greatest value, viz. free air, and an agreeable prospect. While ...the fine opening from the city upon that street gave at once an idea of the beauty and elegance of the general design... [the projected building of] houses, ware-houses, and the like, opposite to and on the same level as Princes Street ... was complained of as a most gross violation of public faith, and a real injury to the town itself."

The appeal was successful. With the exception of buildings already underway which could be completed, it was ruled that the remainder of the south slope should be kept in perpetuity as pleasure ground. By this act, the huge moat between the old and the new was given legal protection; the physical isolation of the one settlement from the other, and the visual and social segregation which followed, could no longer be modified in any significant way.

Though now secure behind its outwork to the north, Craig's plan lacked defences to the east, where an outlying settlement of the mediaeval burgh already lay at the foot of the Calton hill. This potential weakness in the suburb's guard was averted by the development of solid residential schemes just outside the new bounds, a respectable buffer interposed between the new and the traditionally disreputable Calton quarter. Of these, one of the two largest, Shakespeare Square, was feued out around the Theatre

Royal from 1772, and the other, St. James Square was being erected behind Dundas' garden from 1773 on into the 1790s. The second, designed by Craig on the property of Walter Ferguson writer, had a similar appearance and offered the same attractions as its southern counterparts Argyle and Alison's Squares. The first will be discussed in greater detail later. Asymmetrically sited private schemes much like the Society developments, both were more part of the city's natural evolution than an off-shoot of the inflexibly formal suburb; both arose with an integral link to the bridge and the road to Leith not to the Council's indifferent grid, indeed St James Square advertised its nearness to town[552].

Slightly further down the Walk to Leith, a new eastern neighbourhood had begun to form in High Calton during the mid-sixties, rising away from the shady Low Calton and the irredeemable St. Ninians Row up towards the hill-top burial ground[553], and in the late 1760s, a new Botanic garden was established on the west of Leith Walk, a site of five acres which replaced both the flower garden by Holyrood, and the Physic garden by Trinity College Kirk[554]. This eastern buffer zone rapidly developed a character of its own, respectable but not entirely genteel, a tone to which later schemes on both sides of the Walk were eventually to correspond.

During the 1750s, the larger and more important of the new schemes had taken place on the south of the city. By the end of the 60s work on these was virtually complete: Colin Alison's finances collapsed which put an end to any further speculation in property[555], but George Campbell had continued with Argyle Square till his death in the late 60s[556] [fig. 139]. James Brown, having finished his square, as well as undertaking commissions such as the recasting of John Pringle's Society house in 1762, and extending it in 1766[557] (see fig. 110), with almost no space left for further expansion in the Society[558] [fig. 138], moved even further south to start on the largest private scheme of the decade[559].

Brown, a wright with influential connections, like Campbell, was an example of the mixed middle stratum of late feudal society in that, though he himself followed a

trade, his brother George, a military man, owned the estates of Lindsaysland and Elliston, was Commissioner of Excise, and, just as importantly, had married Dorothea Dundas of Dundas. Both brothers were involved with the Riding school; George as a subscriber, James as what contemporary documents describe as their "doer", a kind of manager. In 1761, with his square in the Society almost finished and renting out successfully, Brown bought the grounds of Ross house, one of the little mid-eighteenth century aristocratic villas built just outside the walls. After the deaths of both the 13th and 14th Lords Ross in 1754, house and grounds had first been acquired by John Adam in 1756; the house was then sold on to Lockhart of Carnwath (moving from his sixteenth-century courtyard-house in Niddry's Wynd), and twenty-six acres to the south were offered to the Town Council after Adam's bankers failed in 1764[560]. The Council having declined the ground, Brown bought them up to begin his massive speculation. Unlike many of his contemporaries including Alison, his financial astuteness was never in question: presumably counting on the steady drift of gentry and professionals to the south of the city, and the proven demand for Society houses, having bought Ross park for £1,200, when approached by the council with an offer of £2,000, he asked for £20,000; he later (unsuccessfully) demanded £4,000 from the proprietors to leave the south aspect open. In 1766, the work, to be known as George Square, began on the north side; by 1779 west and east sides were complete, and the south was finished by about 1785 - over sixty houses in all, in addition to about another hundred in the flanking streets [fig. 140].

Brown both feued and supervised his scheme, with Michael Nasmyth as his mason. The first side's appearance was met with some distaste; "of mean and unequal height ... the walls are built partly of blue whin, partly of green stone, put alternately in a chequered figure, resembling the stuff that sailors' shirts are made of"[561]. This in no way affected the scheme's popularity, and twenty-seven lots were purchased between 1766 and 1775. Out of these, a clear pattern of residents emerged; nine were widows, or unmarried daughters (amongst whom were the only two aristocrats[562]), nine had

current or previous connections with the law, and banking, medicine[563], army and navy each had one representative. Brown himself was to live in the last house on the west side (no. 29) of his great square till his death in 1807. The social mix was similar to the Canongate schemes in general, but discernably less aristocratic than Charteris' street. Despite, or perhaps because of their lesser social standing, residents were bound by strictly enforced rules and regulations similar to those established in James court forty years previously, which some of the gentry now found unpleasantly intimate;

> "There was tonight a ball in James's Court given by the inhabitants. I dislike such corporation meetings, and neither my wife nor I went to it. Worthy Grange came and supped with us, he also being a nonconformist. He said very well that if James's Court were in the middle of a wild moor, its inhabitants must from necessity associate together; but as we are in the middle of a large city, where we can choose our company, it is absurd to be like the inhabitants of a village. I believe we were ill thought of by the inhabitants who joined the ball. But it was better to keep clear of a connexion which was undesirable."[564]

George Square residents were "perpetually restrained from dealing in or the occupation of trade and merchandise, whether foreign or inland, in wholesale or retail of goods"; baking and brewing for sale were prohibited; and there was a levy of not more than 1/- in £1 of rents to pay officials to supervise lighting, watching, and cleansing - as the dirty habits remarked on in the city are said to have continued. Residents also had access to the central garden, which until the nineteenth century was a fairly dubious privilege since Brown had full liberty to place building materials in the centre till 1772, and thereafter to pasture cows and horses[565].

George Square was a gigantic version of Brown's earlier work, this time not just aside but completely detached from the old framework. Residents were protected from intrusive buildings and intrusive citizens not only by distance from the city, but by a defensive ring of parks and planned streets (ie Buccleuch place, Crichton Street,

Charles Street, Windmill Street, and Teviot Row). Its position, off the two main south approaches, eliminated its use as a thoroughfare and therefore guaranteed a degree of privacy within the square itself, but unlike Craig's scheme, all its exits led directly onto existing high roads or the Meadows Walk. Its size, form, appearance, and site were unlike anything previously experienced in or about the city, totally unconventional in all respects. Even in comparison to other cities, it was an oddity: the grandeur of its overall plan conflicted with the mediocrity of each building's scale and decoration; in form if not function, it strongly resembled a planned village, complete in itself, centred on a communal green. The first inhabitants were not of great birth, nor of any great social position at the time, but among them were the most aspiring of the lower members of the new hierarchy, and by the 1780s, George Square, like Horse Wynd before it, would become the centre of greatest political influence within Scotland.

Other small villas of the first half of the century, similar to Ross house, were scattered south of the city wall, and the park of one, Lady Nicholson's house, took up most of the ground to the east of George Square between Potterrow and the Pleasance[566]. In 1757, part of this large area was feued to form Nicolson Street[567], a development which began as mainly houses-in-themselves of good size and finishing. The new street started in front of Lady Nicholson's house, just beyond that part of the city wall mid-way between College and High School Wynd and lying directly in line with what would be North Bridge Street, and soon smaller streets and squares of flatted houses began branching off to east and west to tie Brown's huge development, Potterrow, and Pleasance into a united if informal whole. One of the earliest, Nicolson Square, which backed on to the double fronted H-shaped block of Alison, was erected on its west from 1765. Some small villas were also built - one, in 1766 next to the new Relief kirk, by Dr. Munro, the second of that family of surgeons who played such a great part in the growth of the medical faculty which lay just north of the new house inside the city wall[568].

These southern developments were large, together almost a quarter of the size of

the city proper, but nothing in their layout adversely affected the old framework. Nicholson Street was a completely new road, but similar in almost all respects to both the Pleasance and Bristo, a parallel to the fringe of small baronies lining the south approaches; it was another high road to the south with a mixture of houses, shops and yards along its length; more significantly, it led strangers to the ports, branching at Lady Nicholson's house to reach Potterrow Port at the west, and, along the Back Wall, to Pleasance and eventually Cowgate Port at the east. (In the same way, the embryonic Society road paralleled the young Cowgate of the late fifteenth century; an east-west route within the city formed at the perimeter of previous garden ground when that too had filled with houses.) Brown's work, though immense, was too introverted, too far from main routes, to be anything other than an oddity. It was almost a gigantic, horizontal version of Miln's Court, in that a number of units for the moderately rich had been amalgamated to give, as a whole, a more impressive appearance and a greater separation from all but neighbouring possessors in the scheme. Though residents suffered a similar loss of individuality, unlike Miln's Court, this was achieved with no loss of privacy.

1775 - 1790

Like their northern counterparts, the southern residents of the 1760s were predominantly the newly affluent minor gentry, merchants and professionals, all members of the third estate in the process of banding themselves together into the new category of middle class. When Nicolson Street was eventually joined up to a new street bridging the Cowgate, it became the main approach to the city from the south, a continuous route through the new developments, through the city proper, and past the north suburb, to Leith. For the first time in the city's history, it was possible to go from the High Street to houses beyond the old wall without any abrupt change of level, a particular convenience to the new carriage-owners, able at last to use these

signs of status on a daily basis. By 1783, "Triple the number of merchants, physicians and surgeons, &c. keep their own carriages, that ever did in any former period", as did even ministers and College professors who were seen as being "in a circumscribed walk of life as to fortune"[569]. By the 1790s, just as the small but genteel houses and gardens of the more affluent merchants and professionals had engulfed in the 60s what had been the suburban domain of the nobility in the earlier part of the century, they themselves became surrounded by denser, less expensive developments. One of the earlier wave of residents - Dr. Munro - who had built his house on Lady Nicolson's land in 1766, first lost part of his ground as the road between the town wall and his garden was widened in the mid-1780s from ten to thirty feet (with his permission and without his "asking or receiving any thing from the Public"). The Doctor then had added, at his own expense, an additional five feet to the width, and "reduced that road from being steep to a very gradual ascent". This was not an entirely altruistic gesture as, in 1789, he joined the contemporary mania for private speculation with a proposal to erect two houses and to build cellars under the road to a plan drawn by Robert Kay[570] [fig. 141].

Around George Square, the same process was underway. In 1778, ground by the Chapel of Ease was purchased from McGill and Cowan by Jonathon Fullwood merchant, to erect the tenement later known as Buccleugh pend "of stone and lime at least 4 storeys high ... and of the breadth of forty feet at least". In its centre, they formed a road fifteen feet broad, and raised "an arch from the top to the said road twelve feet high and fifteen feet broad"[571]. A "tall and substantial" group of self-contained houses, with classical door-pieces and areas in front, was erected in Park place, which stretched from Ross house to Teviot row (among whose early residents was Ilay Campbell, the Lord President of the Court of Session, flitting from his rebuilt lodging in Buchanans Land, Lawnmarket[572]).

To the west, past the grounds of Watson's and Heriot's Hospitals, the large holdings of High Riggs, Drumdrydan, and Hope's Park followed one stage behind the grounds

to the east in their evolution from parkland to streets. In the 1770s, some became split into smaller but still fairly extensive lots for the building of small villas with large grounds which, like Dr. Monro's, had previously been scattered around Lady Nicolson's Park. Then, the formation of Lothian Road, like the opening of Nicolson Street, altered the quantity, type, and value of property being erected in the area. The movements of the Home-Rigg family, who had built a new residence in Gosford Close in 1774, offer an interesting example of the drift of the minor gentry from area to area at the time. In 1788, Home-Rigg's son took possession of Drumdrydan house; a three-storied house of ten fire rooms with twelve acres, on the north-west side of Hope's Park, also built about 1774. (James Home-Rigg himself died in his house in Gosford Close about the same time as the sale was completed, and a few months later, the Gosford Close house was advertised for let). After only six years, Drumdrydan house, with only two and a half acres, was advertised for let and the Home-Riggs moved to 68 Queen Street which remained their family house until 1837[573].

By the late 1770s, fashionable life moved between three areas, divisioned out between the city and its two suburbs. On the south, the Royal Company of Archers took over from the now slightly less fashionable Riding School as the most socially exclusive entertainment in the city. An aristocratic society, it had received a royal charter under Queen Anne. Though its mildly Jacobite tendencies had caused a near terminal decline after 1745, the body was resurrected in the 1770s - in full costume of "tartan, lined with white, trimmed with green and white ribbons; a white sash, with green tossels; and a blue bonnet with a St. Andrew's cross"[574] - by William St. Clair of Roslin, and by 1779, it had roughly three hundred members which included "most of the Scottish nobility of first distinction"[575]. In 1776, a hall for the Archers to meet in was erected near to their shooting butts at the east end of the Meadows[576]. This, for a short time, was also used to hold the first balls of the southern Assembly, a new social gathering, founded by the residents of George Square and Lady Nicolson's development. While the Riding School and the Company of Archers only added to the

pastimes in the city proper, the new Assembly was a competitor, a direct threat to attendance at the older Assembly in Bell's Wynd. By 1785, the new had made sufficient inroads on the old's patronage to support the opening of a new hall in Buccleuch Place, and within two years, the Bell's Wynd Assembly gave up what had become an unequal struggle in the city proper. After years of abortive proposals, it finally found a site for a new hall on the north side of George Street. The building - "a work of advanced continental Classicism stemming directly from [its designer John] Henderson's studies in Rome"[577] - was paid for by public subscription at a cost of £6,000, and opened in 1787[578] [fig. 142]. With the Assembly gone and the Music Society struggling for existence under the impossible conditions caused by the building of the Cowgate Bridge Scheme (which will be discussed in the next section), only the kirks were left to draw the families of the influential back within the boundaries of the city proper.

More and more of these civic functions had been seeping away from the city, along with the richer and more powerful citizens. On the north, after a slow start, the suburb had at last begun to fill with the houses and shops of doctors, lawyers, merchants, and nearly all the prominent bankers, a livelihood which more than any other owed both its affluence and influence to the rise of a commercial society. Its success had become, by the 1780s, sufficiently convincing to warrant a few public buildings, all erected before the new Assembly hall joined them in 1787. Register house, one of the major components of the 1752 *Proposals*, was the first part of the city's public functions to be taken out of the centre. Its foundation stone had already been laid on the area facing the end of the north bridge in 1774[579], but when war broke out, sources of government and private funding dried up, and by 1778, the money was exhausted. With only the carcass completed, work came to a halt, and for six years "the most magnificent pigeon house in Europe"[580] stood empty. In 1784, the year after the war ended, an additional £15,000 was granted by the Government from the funds of the Forfeited Estates Commission[581], and in 1788, the building, designed by Robert and

James Adam, was able to be partly occupied [fig. 143]. A year after the laying of its foundation stone, a similar move from the city was made by one of the professions - the Society of Physicians - a body whose status and income, like that of the bankers, had benefited greatly from the change in attitudes in the commercial age. Eight years previously, it had made what was to be the final attempt to reform its old property in Fountain Close by building a new hall in its garden off the Cowgate but, after complaints from the heritors of Elphinstone's Land, and being confined to the upper waste land and debarred from building on the lower court[582], the scheme was abandoned. Instead, the land was sold as the site for the new English Chapel (erected in 1774), and the Physicians moved to George Street; their new hall, designed by James Craig, had its foundation stone laid in 1775, and was finally completed at the cost of nearly £4,000[583] [fig. 144].

About nine more years were to pass before the Physicians' Hall was joined by the first established kirk in Edinburgh built outwith the old royalty. Prompted by James Hunter, a partner in Forbes' bank, the city's M.P. and a future Lord Provost, the Council had agreed in January 1781 that the lack of any church within the suburb was causing much inconvenience to the residents[584]. Funding was borrowed from the Treasurer of Heriot's Hospital, and by September, a site had been chosen in George Street opposite to the Physicians' Hall. The church itself, "built according to a design drawn by Major Fraser of the Engineers during his residence here"[585], was completed in 1784, a spire was added by 1787, and the total cost was just over £5,000[586] [fig. 145]. In final proof of the north suburb's now considerable population, this suitable and convenient place of worship was soon matched by the Assembly Hall, an equally suitable and equally convenient place of entertainment which has already been discussed. Less genteel entertainment also flourished. The Theatre in Shakespeare Square was joined by a large building called the Circus, at the head of Leith Walk in 1788[587] [fig. 146], the same year as the Theatre Royal itself received a grand portico[588]. In addition to the basic form as shown on the warrant drawing [fig. 147], according to

the contemporary diarist George Sandy, "On each side there is to be a Statue, one of Tragedy, the other of Comedy and Shakespeare in the middle"[589]. The town's arms were to be placed in the centre of the pediment.

Shakespeare Square, like the rest of the suburb, had been slow to develop. In 1777, David Ramsay, mason, and other subscribers, had purchased several areas at the back of the Theatre from the Town Council, and Thomas Hill, wright, had purchased another and was already erecting his tenement. The last few gaps were being filled in the 80s, and by the time the Theatre redesigned its facade, the square was virtually complete[590] [fig. 148]. Its contemporary, St. James Square, was also completed by 1790, and to its east was rising one of the most interesting schemes of the era, the two-tiered development of Leith Street. The strength and busy-ness of this high elevation, packed with shop-fronts both at street level and along an eastern upper gallery, compensated for the awkwardness of its junction with the North Bridge; it drew in traffic and successfully provided the last link in the chain of street schemes - made up of Nicholson Street, the Bridges, and Leith Walk - needed to connect this new highway from the south straight through the city to Leith. The completed thoroughfare had the same effect on the surrounding estates as Nicolson Street had had and Lothian Road would have on the south - an influx first of fairly expensive property, then, after a few decades, of lesser cheaper larger developments: the lands of Gayfield House - a neat villa built by the Butters for the Earl of Leven in 1765 - were feued from 1785; Gayfield Place began in 1790 to the design of James Begg architect; and Gayfield Square, by Hugh Cairncross, from 1790-1808 (Greenside and Baxter's Place, both by John Baxter, were built c1798). Picardy, an area previously feued by the City to a colony of silk-weavers in 1730, was not developed until the first years of the nineteenth century.

The first residents of all these schemes were the respectable of moderate means. Shakespeare Square had occupants like Alison Corbet, the widow of Captain William Corbett of the Royal Navy who lived on the first floor of Hill's Land in 1782[591], and Robert Adam's sister, the wife of Dr. Drysdale (who later moved to the Society then

in her widowhood to Nicholson Square in 1790). The most notable inhabitant of St. James Square's, if only for a few months in 1787, was Robert Burns, one of the few late eighteenth-century figures whose fame was not tied to his commercial success.

The short years of plenty between the American and French wars - from 1783 to 1793 - saw Craig's plan for the "New Town" almost completed. An incredible amount of building work had taken place within ten years. By 1780, St. Andrew's Street and Square, and St. David's Street had finished feuing. Hanover Street was first feued in 1784 and completed by about 1790. Frederick Street was first feued in 1786 and completed about 1792, and building began in Castle Street in 1792[592]. Princes Street and George Street moved westwards at the same rate, Queen Street and Rose Street at a slightly slower pace[593]. The one great architectural set-piece of the first scheme, Charlotte Square, was drawn up to a unified design by Robert Adam in 1791, the same year as the Council finally agreed its boundaries with the adjoining proprietor, but though the first feu was sold in 1792, building on the rest of the Square was delayed by the outbreak of war, and was not completed until the early years of the next century.

Such an immense amount of work required an equally enormous supply of material - stone, timber, lime, iron, and glass - and numbers of crafts and tradesmen far beyond the ability of the town's incorporations to supply. The implications of extending the Royalty had been realised from the start and in the abortive discussions of 1759, the Council had been at pains to make clear,

> "That all the Priviledges of the Corporations as now exercised within the present Town shall remain entire and unhurt ... That every person who shall reside within the New Limits shall by such residence, and upon payment of £1 sterling for a Burgess ticket, become a Burgess and freeman within these limits only, but not within the limits of the present Town",

but that "present Burgesses and freemen shall be Burgesses and freemen of the new

limits" without further payment[594].

Some of the names of masons and wrights are indeed new to warrants of the period[595], and whatever the provision made, there can be little doubt that work in the new regality was decisive in undermining the Incorporations' monopoly and therefore their power within the city.

Journeymen and day-workers poured in from all parts of the country, and with nearly all affordable shelter available only in the old city, space was stretched beyond tolerable limits to accommodate them. Through the seemingly unending demand of incomers with regular employment and therefore regular pay, proprietors began to overcrowd and sub-divide their houses, the price of the worst lodgings rose, and more small cheap dwellings were erected. Both the north and south sides of the loch provided convenient empty areas for building, and in 1774 and 1779, the Guild court dealt with a number of prosecutions for encroachments onto the Town's ground. As early as 1773, houses of two rooms in Canal Street, a survivor of the battle of gentility in 1771, were up for sale[596]. In 1779, a huge block of one, two, and three-roomed houses [fig. 149] was proposed by James Dun, stabler, on a former fleshers yard by the North Bridge[597]. An even larger scheme of three blocks was erected at the foot of Morrison's Close in 1781, by Alexander Bruce, cabinetmaker, then extended in 1788[598], and a single block was proposed at the foot of Leith Wynd, south of Paul's Work in 1787[599] [figs. 150, 151]. This accommodation was near to the northern building sites and even nearer to most workyards, for, though some were set up to the north, long established wrights and masons were at first more inclined to extend their existing yards, those described in Chapter Three which lay mainly at the foot of the south slopes of the Nor Loch valley.

For the first two decades of its life, the new north suburb must have resembled one huge building site, edged by yards and sheds, with loads of stone, lime, and timber constantly passing along its partly built streets. In this respect its inhabitants had not, as they intended, escaped from the "deficiencies" of the old city, nor had they escaped

the other better known "disadvantages". In a petition of 1782 whose content was exactly the same as innumerable others over the past hundred years, and where only the address was new, the proprietors and possessors of a new tenement of land in St. David's Lane complained that David Greig, a baker in St. David's Street,

> "in a clandestine manner has lately erected an oven in the ground floor of the said tenement and has converted one of the Rooms thereof into a Bakehouse wherein he carrys on his Baking business to the great annoyance and disturbance of your Petitioners, and to the very imminent danger of their lives and property and the whole neighbourhood from fire."

Greig replied firmly that his goods were much appreciated by other residents, that "Robert Boswal Writer to the Signet and Major Melville who live in George Street came and looked at the building when it was erecting and made no complaint", and that he was already in possession of the ground floor before the complainants took up residence. The case was dismissed with a warning to Greig on care and cleanliness in carrying out his trade[600].

In 1786, another of the frequent complaint over the years in the city proper - that of exceeding the limits of height - occurred in George Street. John Robertson, printer, the proprietor of a house possessed by Sir William Forbes, protested that John Brough, wright, and Andrew Neil, mason, his foreman, "have built and are building both sides of your petitioner's property and exceeding the usual height by adding a storey", and that,

> "... the symmetry of the contiguous buildings will be destroyed and the said petitioner's house rendered diminutive in appearance, and circulation of free air thereto obstructed and the prospect from Rose Street become deformed and irregular."[601]

The court's decision is unclear, but Brough appears to have been allowed to continue.

This was despite an Act "with regard to Elevations of Houses in the New Extended Royalty", of September 1784, from which Robertson quoted, in which it was represented that,

> "although every Act of Council, granting Feus in the Extended Royalty, bears, That the Feuar, before he begins to build, should produce an Elevation of his intended building, that the Council may approve or disapprove of the same, yet the builders pay little regard to this Regulation, which is often productive of disagreeable consequences to themselves"

In the same Act, it was decided that the Town's overseer could, on seeing foundations being dug, "require from the builder a sight of the Elevation, with an extract of the Act of Council approving thereof", and if these were not delivered, he could apply to the Dean of Guild to stop the building. This Act was followed, the next year, by another containing "Rules, with regard to Feuing Out the Ground of the Extended Royalty of the City of Edinburgh, and Regulating the Manner of Building &c."[602], where the restrictions on height, width, and use were made quite explicit.

As in the previous petition, due to its inhabitants higher expectations of conformity, some standard complaints caused even greater agitation in the new suburb. In 1789, the Earl of Haddington, John Stewart of Allanbank, James Mansfield, banker, and the other proprietors of houses in George Street protested that though the level of the street in "Meuse Lane" had been agreed by themselves and the City before laying the foundations for stables and outhouses, James Hall, builder, and Robert Belschies who were building part of the lane to the north of the petitioners' property, had "cut down to a considerable level below the petitioners' outhouses the narrow lane and laid down large quantities of bricks before the Earl of Haddington's coachhouse"[603]. It would have been remarkable if, amongst all the building work taking place, some obstructions of access had not occurred. Of all the annoyances of the city proper, only "nastiness", the casual discarding of excrement and household waste, seems to have been

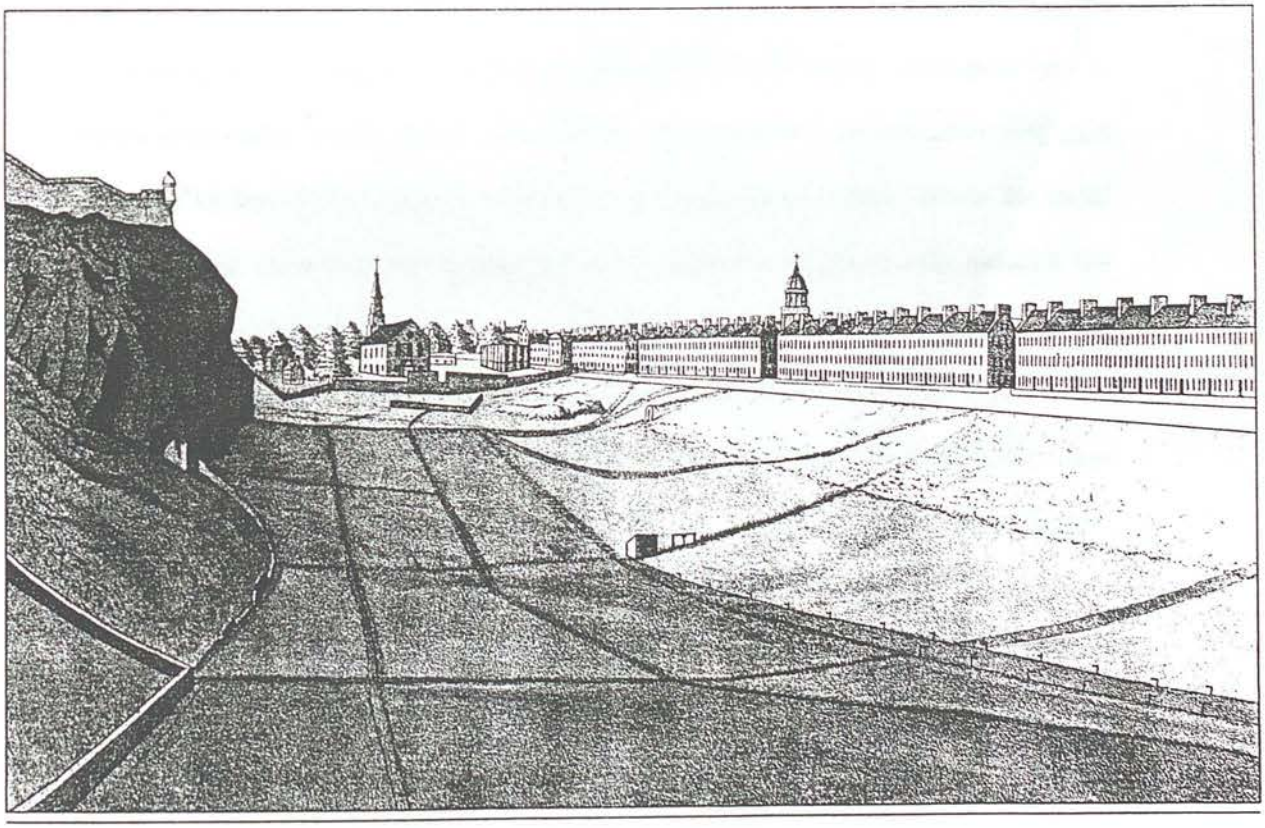
eliminated, presumably due to the large drains laid in the centre of the main streets, together with the gridded layout, which both removed doubts as to the offending household, and made it likely that dirt would lie on the culprit's own property.

There was virtually no difference in new property in the old city and new property in the suburbs. If anything, the city proper still provided sites for a class of villa unmatched in the northern suburbs (except for the area purloined by Sir Laurence Dundas) if not the south. "People of fortune, and of a certain rank" had failed to appear in significant numbers in any part of the town, and it was the "men of professions and business of every kind", far from being still inclined "to live in the neighbourhood of the Exchange, of the courts of justice, and other places of public resort"[604], who were making up the great majority of suburban inhabitants, who were moving away to the outskirts as quickly as they could, who were flitting, in fact, to houses remarkably similar to those which most of them had just left. Flatted dwellings - where "many families ... are obliged to live overhead of each other in the same building; where, to all the other inconveniences, is added that of a common stair, which is no other in effect than an upright street, constantly dark and dirty"[605] - so despised in the *Proposals* had not taken long to make their appearance. As a house-in-itself was far beyond what the purses of most could afford, developers and speculators soon provided what was needed, if not what was unrequitedly wanted. On the north, tenements (in the modern sense of the word) sprang up not just in St. James and Shakespeare Squares, but in George Street, Princes Street, Queen Street and the rest, and on the south, by the 1780s little else was being built around George Square and Nicholson Street.

What distinguished the northern suburb (and George Square) from the city proper, was not the type of property but the gridded layout, the rigid separation of classes of buildings (ie, houses, stabling, workshops, etc), and the consistency of style. The streets and squares were open and wide, with unbroken frontages, with no quick exits for the ill-disposed, and no shelter for the socially unacceptable. The mob, who could impress

their will with impunity on the city proper - and frequently had for however short a time - were almost helpless and very vulnerable within the north suburb, where troops of horse could trap, control, and if neccessary charge them en masse. This was to be a particularly reassuring characteristic for the residents in the short days of revolutionary fervour at the beginning of the 1790s, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

To speculate in greater depth on the kind of society which found it, by their own choice, both necessary and desirable to live in virtually repetitive units within a grid plan - a suppression of individuality so complete that only Roman encampments before, and twentieth-century totalitarian housing estates after came near to echoing - is not appropriate to the main theme of this work. But it is worth considering why life within the first phase of Edinburgh's "new town", in comparison to the city proper, has been regarded by succeeding generations with such a rosy glow [fig. 152].



A View from the Earthen Mound. July 1816.

CHAPTER 6.

Romanticism, Revolutions, and the Rabble, 1776 - 1793.

In the seventeen years which this chapter covers, work carried out within the old town showed a distinct change, not in quantity, like the phenomenal growth of the suburbs, but in character.

At the same time, between the American War of Independence (1776-83) and the French Revolution of 1789 (war with the United Kingdoms, 1793), another change in character was in process; a transformation in the attitude of the poorer inhabitants to their standing in society just as great as had already taken place in the attitude of the minor gentry and professionals. As the "rabble" started to think and act politically, the violence of the mob began to be directed at improving not just its immediate lot - as in the meal mobs - but its status within society and share in its organisation. Any gain in status for the rabble would have made a hardly perceptible difference to the social gulf between them and the aristocracy, but would have significantly reduced the prominence, still largely unaccepted by other members of its former estate, which the forming "middle class" saw themselves as having achieved. Therefore, the threat of the mob was felt most severely by those who were most determined to establish their new station, and the clear and rigid separation of the new establishment and its adherents from the rest of society became not just a bulwark of the new status they had assumed, but, as it seems to have appeared to them, a matter of personal safety. Imperceptibly, areas which contained a mixture of classes and uses came to be seen not just as socially unacceptable but as physically dangerous, with the effect that the number of the more affluent willing to risk their persons or their property in "dubious" neighbourhoods thinned rapidly. The range of types and costs of new buildings within the bounds of

the city proper became unusually limited; of the many still being erected, more were for the lesser ranks of society than at any previous time, and almost none were for the upper ranks or classes.

Just as the poor were becoming politicised, the whole country began to experience an enormous demographic change, as large numbers of labourers, servants, and those without work, moved into the major towns. Unsurprisingly, the old city, with its intricate and interchangeable mix of houses, workshops, and public offices, as well as acquiring the least number of more costly houses-in-themselves, also began to acquire by far the greatest number of small, inexpensive houses than either of its new suburbs. This chapter will examine how the city proper, having successfully accepted a range of more expensive houses into its framework in the 1760s, now dealt with an influx of much cheaper houses and workshops.

The Context

Even in what is considered to be the fast changing times of the late twentieth century, it is astonishing just how far the organisation of society, and therefore the social and economic demands made on the fabric of the city, had been transformed over the forty-five years after 1746 - the starting point of this study. Just as the lives of three men - Archibald Campbell, Earl of Islay then 3rd Duke of Argyll, Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, and George Drummond, merchant - were used to highlight the social organisation of mid-eighteenth century Scotland, so the radical differences in attitude which had taken place by the 1780s are epitomised, in a similar way, by the achievement of Henry Dundas (1742-1811), who gained a degree of influence comparable to Islay though his rank was equivalent to Milton's, and whose policy ensured that no Provost could ever again have the impact of Drummond. A man almost of the post-45 generation, in 1775, he was beginning what was to be a resoundingly successful political career. The youngest of seven children Dundas was

born into the cadet branch of a family of minor landowners, the son of a previous Lord President, Robert Dundas of Arniston, and the half-brother of the current Lord President, also Robert Dundas[606]. At twenty-three, he married a fifteen year old heiress with a reputed fortune of £100,000 sterling; in 1766, a year after his marriage, he became Solicitor General; in 1772-3 most of his wife's fortune was lost in the Ayr Bank crash; in 1774 he took over the seat in Parliament run by his family's interest; and in 1775, at the age of thirty-three, he was appointed Lord Advocate.

Dundas's contemporaries still viewed control of Scottish affairs as the prerogative of the aristocracy, and he was seen, initially, in terms of a manager, a possible equivalent to Lord Milton. Amongst themselves, they "talked of the Duke of Buccleuch's imagining that he should be Prime Minister for Scotland, and that Harry Dundas was to act along with him"[607], but despite his irremediably middle class background, and despite, or because of, his generally acknowledged lack of strong principles, it was Dundas not Buccleuch who became the political overlord of government patronage in Scotland. From 1775 onwards, by a combination of persistence, expedience, and careful politicking, he made himself useful to a London administration beset by problems at home and abroad. While his personal power was immeasurably increased by this usefulness, it did little to alter his status except in the eyes of those of his own rank - a fact exemplified by the king's irritable remark when faced with the cost of utilising the Dundas machine; "that more favours have been heaped on the shoulders of that man than ever were bestowed on any Scotch lawyer"[608]. During the many short-lived ministries and constitutional crises of the early 1780s, despite set-backs Dundas gradually extended and consolidated his influence, and when the brief Fox-North coalition collapsed in 1783, the Scotch lawyer at last won major and lasting political power as the friend and supporter of Pitt the younger, head of the new ministry. By 1784, Dundas could count on the votes of 22 out of the 45 Scottish members, and after the general election of 1790, he had 34 M.P.s in his control[609] - making true his boast of 1789 that "a number of circumstances

concur in my person to make me the veritable cement of the administration"[610].

No greater contrast can be imagined than between Archibald Campbell, the "Vice-Roy" of Scotland for the first half of the century, and Henry Dundas: the one a great noble, owner of vast tracts of land, and instigator of many of the influential social and economic institutions of the eighteenth century; the other a man of the minor gentry about whom an eminent historian of our time has remarked; "..it is possible to read and re-read his voluminous correspondence and not once light on anything that resembles an *idea* let alone an ideal"[611]. Though the most striking, Dundas was only one of many who, by the 1780s, had gained positions which would have been unthinkable for men of their rank - or lack of it - in 1746. Scottish bankers, an occupation which then had been a risky sideline of corn merchants, now occupied the offices and directorships formerly confined to the nobility and the richer gentry, but it is significant that these men, of enormous wealth, still were offered little direct part in national affairs, and that their status, like that of Dundas, seems to have changed significantly only within their own ranks[612].

As the rising men of the previous decade, lacking a say in national affairs, consolidated their position as powerful members of a parochial society, they could more freely express their disapproval of those outwith their station who did not conform to their own newly established code of behaviour. They found fault with the nobility "for their everlasting gaming and voluptuousness". Not only was their former feudal power castigated, in the words of Adam Smith the great theorist of commercialism, as a cause of "violence, rapine, and of disorder", the sale of this very power for mere "trinkets and baubles" was almost as blameworthy[613]. The political ability of this the first of the "three great, original, and constituent orders of every civilised society, from whose revenue that of every other order is ultimately derived", was also being questioned, since that revenue, argued Adam Smith,

"costs them neither labour nor care, but comes to them, as it were, of its own accord,

> and independent of any plan or project of their own. That indolence... renders them too often, not only ignorant, but incapable of that application of mind which is necessary in order to foresee and understand the consequence of any public regulation."[614]

The legal privileges of the first estate had been withdrawn, the financial gulf between them and others was bridged, their political precedence was less secure, and now their rights of property, the last remaining prop to their intrinsic and hereditary feudal status, came under fierce attack. Under the law of entail, vast tracts of the country, said Smith, were "engrossed by particular families" and "the possibility of their being divided ever again ... precluded for ever":

> "Entails are thought necessary for maintaining this exclusive privilege of the nobility to the great offices and honours of their country; and that order having usurped one unjust advantage over the rest of their fellow-citizens, lest poverty should make it ridiculous, it is thought reasonable that they should have another."[615]

The charge against their aristocratic patrons was now joined by the legal establishment, up to this point unswervingly staunch supporters of the nobility in the defense of feudal rights. For most of its more successful members, the factors weighting the balance of their own interest had altered; the benefit of fees accrued from the administration of large estates was being outweighed by the adverse effect of entails on the economic position of those "gentlemen of moderate fortune" (not unlike the writer, Lord Kames, himself), who, in the his opinion, were responsible for bringing opulence to Britain, who had improved manners, and who had encouraged the arts and sciences[616]. Entails were, he believed, in direct opposition to the demands of a commercial society.

Nearer the other end of the social scale, the Incorporations, that former power base of the third estate, were also beset by assaults on their traditional power, which too was viewed as running counter to commercial expansion:

> "People of the same trade seldom meet together, even for merriment and diversion, but the conversation ends in a conspiracy against the public, or in some contrivance to raise prices. It is impossible indeed to prevent such meetings, by any law which either could be executed, or would be consistent with equity and justice. But though the law cannot hinder people of the same trade from sometimes assembling together, it ought to do nothing to facilitate such assemblies, much less to render them neccessary."[617]

The social and financial strength of each trade lay in its members' ability to take combined action. As their monopolies were weakened, this effectively declined, as did the Incorporations' power within the city. In burgh councils, which should have acted as a local parliament, the voice of trades and merchants as a whole was smothered, partly due to their loss of status, and partly by the blatant corruption of the Council's practices. These, in themselves, were not unusual. Councils now controlled by Dundas had been just as firmly controlled by Milton for Islay, and it had been long accepted that Councillors were the first to profit from any public works, but now the corruption was without check, either from the aristocracy or from fellow burgesses. Whereas, under Islay the town and sometimes the country also profited from his orchestration, the Dundas management brought profit neither to the town, the country, the old burgh establishment, nor the new middle class outwith the Dundas faction. The latter, gentlemen of both moderate and immoderate fortune, became louder and more persistent in their demand for a say in local and national government as their financial influence increased. The profitable functioning of a commercial society, it was argued, was dependant on burgh reform; the risk of investing capital in schemes at the mercy of arbitrary Council dictat was too great, and entrepreneurs were avoiding towns to take out feus with country lairds[618]. From 1782 onwards[619], a co-ordinated movement towards corrective legislation was established by a combination of merchants and lawyers - including Andrew Fletcher, Henry Erskine, younger brother of the Earl of Buchan, John Clerk of Eldin, and [law] Lord Gardenstone - which in 1785 produced two Bills. One, which was dropped, dealt with the election of the burghs'

Parliamentary representatives, the other with abuses in the internal government of the burghs[620]. Unsurprisingly, the burghs' establishments reacted strongly in defence of the status quo: the Convention of Royal Burghs voted £200 to oppose the movement; Edinburgh's Provost Grieve sent a circular letter to all town councils urging them to instruct their members to vote against the measures which, he said, "would unhinge a constitution which has stood the test of ages"[621]; and the petition, presented to Parliament by Richard Brindsley Sheridan, was, with little difficulty, promptly refused for debate by Dundas, whose control of votes by patronage would have been made infinitely more difficult and expensive had the suggested measures been passed.

As a whole, this movement was motivated in its first years by pragmatic self-interest not idealism, to its members own, and only their own, direct benefit. In the reformist "letters of Zeno"[622], it was made quite clear that any wider franchise should apply only to the knowledgable, virtuous, and propertied middle class, who would then protect the interests of "the dregs of the populace" - these being "disqualified by ignorance and hebetude" from doing it themselves. Those who had risen in status from their restricted role in pre-1745 feudal society, while determined to make even further advances into the privileges of those who held power, seemed equally determined to maintain or enlarge the gap which had opened between themselves and others less financially astute. The second of Adam Smith's orders of society, the man who lived by wages, was as little regarded as the first:

> "he is incapable either of comprehending that interest [of society] or of understanding its connection with his own. His condition leaves him no time to receive the necessary information, and his education and habits are commonly such as to render him unfit to judge even though he were fully informed."[623]

Smith had already reasoned that the main benefit of a commercial society was its incredible capacity for production, which would enable even the poorest to improve their standard of living by the availability of cheap and varied produce, but, his

argument continued, this could be achieved only by their loss of choice and independence of action[624]. When the American war ended in 1783 and another period of economic expansion began, his analysis was soon proven in practice. Cotton (together with sugar and rum), immediately replaced tobacco as the most popular and lucrative imports[625]. Easily grafted onto the long-established linen industry, cotton manufacture soon outgrew it in profit and importance, and huge factory systems came into being with the increase in power-driven machinery and the possibility of borrowing the necessary high capital investment at low rates of interest[626]. While the numbers employed were arguably much better off in physical and financial terms than their contemporaries on the land, within each mill, an almost military discipline was maintained in order to organise the vast labour force. The responsibilities of mill owners became similar in some respects to those so carefully eradicated in the minor feudal nobility. As Boswell remarked after a visit to Matthew Boulton in 1776, "I was struck with the thought of a smith being a great man. Here I saw it. He had about seven hundred people at work. He was a sort of iron chieftain, and seemed to be fatherly to his tribe."[627]

By the mid-80s, the new commercial society began to experience the effect the precedent of its own abandonment of feudal structures had on the less powerful, as they, in turn, began to react to altered social circumstances. Up till then, the lesser inhabitants had been the victims of social change, unable to control or modify its effects on their own unaltered habits and way of life. Since the inflexible order of feudalism had been seemingly overset, and with the encouragement of the American and French example before them, there was no longer any reason why they too should not instigate change to their own benefit; no reason why they should accept the will of those from their own estate, with no special power and no special attributes other than the ability to make money. Their actual, as opposed to hypothetical, attitudes are almost completely unchronicled, and expressed, when at all, not by themselves, but through the extremely partial observations of other ranks or classes, whose own views

were exhaustively communicated in their diaries, newspaper articles, and published works. Since at the time the writers' interest, in general, lay in distancing those below them in the financial scale from any claim to equal consideration as members of society, as in Smith's comment above, they rarely credited the lesser inhabitants with any normal competence at reasoning. This, in a nation renowned for its inability to present a united political or religious front due to the numbers of independent thinkers, could hardly have been the case: as one of the more open-minded parish ministers reported in the first Statistical Account (1791-99),

> "In a quarter where (till of late) religious controversies used to be agitated with great freedom and warmth, it is not to be supposed that the minds of men should be deprived of that acuteness which results from such disquisitions."[628]

With the social implications of the colonial rebellion's success as obvious to the labouring poor as it was to their masters, it became as great a threat to the contemporary establishment as the '45 had been to its grandparents. Even to Carlyle, that aging *Moderate*, who as a youth in 1746 joined Drummond's martial band of student volunteers in their one brave day of total inaction just before the occupation of the city, the rebels seemed worse than Jacobites. They had sought only a change in the succession of the crown from one family to another, but, he said, now the throne itself was now being threatened with "republican principles of the most levelling kind". From the intellectual and religious establishments, there came an immediate burst of anti-egalitarianist rhetoric which ranged from the neat, semantic argument of Adam Ferguson - "the liberty of every class and order is not proportioned to the power they enjoy but to the security they have for the preservation of their rights", therefore "to extend the participation of power may destroy Liberty"[629] - to the more peremptory sermons of John Drysdale, in which he preached that opposition to the existing, hierarchical structure of society was not only necessarily ineffectual as a means of

improving the lot of the lower orders since virtue and happiness are equally obtainable at all social levels, but also blasphemous and anarchical, since it constituted implicit rebellion against divine government[630]. The Church of Scotland, or at the least its *Moderate* leadership, firmly and enthusiastically allied itself to the recently established status quo, and when George Hill of St. Andrews succeeded Dr. Robertson as Moderator of the General Assembly, *Moderatism*, it has been said, "took on ugly features, becoming little more than the Dundas interest at prayer, with nepotism and pluralism the main order of service"[631]. By 1787, the country witnessed a series of strikes and combinations. Violence escalated, and in the riot which followed the Glasgow weavers' demand for higher wages, the military was called out and six of the crowd were killed[632].

Just as the "class" of the poor was slowly developing its own social ideology, its birth as a new political force in Scotland was prematurely induced in 1789 by the shock of the French Revolution. In this event's sheer reversal of what had been perceived as natural order, the worst fears of the *Moderates*, and the wildest hopes of the labouring poor became a reality, a reality which held out a terrifying or exhilarating prospect for every man and woman throughout Europe[633]. Both reform and anti-reform parties were excited into strengthening their attitudes, aims, and actions, and, in the much-quoted words of Henry Cockburn:

> "Everything rung, and was connected with the Revolution in France; which, for above 20 years, was, or was made, the all in all. Everything, not this or that thing, but literally everything, was soaked in this one event."[634]

In the summer of 1792, when the traditional celebration of the king's birthday was held on the fourth of June, instead of the usual speeches, drunkenness, and minor vandalism, the Edinburgh crowd honoured it by burning Dundas's nephew in effigy and rioting for three days in the cause of reform. One of the many reports to Dundas

warned that;

> "The success of the French Democrats has had a most mischievous effect here. Did it go no further than give occassion for triumph to those who entertain the same sentiments here, there would be little harm, for they are very few in number, and but two or three of them possessed of any considerable influence or respectability. But it has led them to think of forming societies for reformation in which the lower classes of people are invited to enter, and how ever insignificant these leaders may be in themselves, when backed with the mob they become formidable."[635]

As yet another minister reported: "An attention to public affairs, a thing formerly unknown among the lower ranks, pretty generally prevails now. Not only the farmers, but many of the tradesmen, read the newspapers and take an interest in the measures of the Government"[636]. Smith's greater benefit of a Commercial society, or as an observer of the 1793 meal riots in Peterhead preferred to describe it "the evil fruits of our manufactories" was noted and blamed:

> "Numbers of scoundrels are brought from all parts, knaves who hardly ever possessed a whole shilling at once before; they are introduced to high daily pay; they think themselves equal to any person they can see; they are rude, insolent and riotous."[637]

Matters for the government were little helped by bad harvests which inflated the price of bread, and the introduction of sheep into parts of the Highlands which was causing large-scale evictions. By the end of the year, another of Dundas's correspondents reported that he had found "from every intelligence that the lower ranks, particularly the operative manufacturers, with a considerable number of their employers, are poisoned with an enthusiastic rage for ideal liberty that will not be crushed without coercive measures"[638]. By December, these measures, already underway in England, were in place, and for the next few decades, the legal and social repression of political theory became normal throughout Scotland[639]. What has been termed a reign of

terror began, with subservience to Dundas as its mainstay and intellectual stagnation as its outcome[640].

Despite the government's efforts, by the end of 1793, 200,000 copies of Tom Paine's *The Rights of Man* had been sold. (Paine himself had fled and been tried and found guilty in his absence in December 1792.) It was a scathing analysis of the inadequacies of the existing constitution, and derided the idea that a corrupt oligarchy would reform the system from which it profited. In it Paine also advocated his own extremely progressive proposals for the re-organisation of society: he suggested that a rational government would forswear war and put money to social use; that it would exempt poor families from tax; that it would make a yearly allowance of £4 per child under 14; that free education would be available for all; and that old age pensions would be granted "not in the nature of a charity, but of a right"[641]. Though any movement towards achieving these goals was being brutally suppressed, for a few years a vast number of the population had been given a glimpse of an alternative future, and the new hierarchy's fabrication of the immutability of its order was shattered.

In the midst of these radical new ideas on equality and social justice, a careful gentility began to affect both intellectual and creative life in Scotland. In literature, this took the form of a sentimental historicism, in which a sanitised, unsubstantiated, and unlikely version of the behaviour and attitudes of past Scottish societies were given weight by the "scientific" detail of the antiquarian[642], in which the reality of contemporary social uncertainties was avoided, and in which an imaginary precedent for social order, the wishful thinking of the new hierarchy, was validated. What Samuel Johnstone termed the "Scotch conspiracy in national falsehood"[643], had begun in the previous, more robust, decade when *Fingal*, some supposedly rediscovered fragments of Celtic literature, was published in 1761[644]. By the 1770s, despite an almost complete discrediting of its authenticity, the Ossianic myth had been taken up with enthusiasm throughout Europe[645], and the architectural counterpart of this literary phenomenon began to gain a similarly widespread acceptance as new

categories were added to the analysis of aesthetics. In addition to the classicist concept of beauty - a formal perfection which would be distorted by any display of strong emotion[646] - buildings described as "Sublime", "Romantic", and "Picturesque" were being created[647]. The philosophical concept on which "sentiment" was based (as propounded in the 60s by Jean-Jacques Rousseau[648]), by the late 1780s had been adapted to a more genteel form, with its intention largely reversed. While the "noble savage", whose physical presence was safely separated from his admirers by either time or distance, became the paragon of the fashionable elite, to an establishment whose social code depended more and more on form and less on content[649], the potential for "natural goodness" was self-evidently denied the poorer members of society; they were an irremediably corrupted mutation of the "noble savage", an almost alien species whose manners were incomprehensible, whose habits were alarming, and whose numbers were dangerous. In the parochialism that was beginning to afflict Scottish culture by the 1790s, minor figures such as Henry McKenzie became arbiters of taste, and no-one was more practised than this *Man of Feeling* at averting his eyes from the "vulgar and disgusting"[650], while plucking, pressing, and re-tinting the even more vulgar and disgusting from a previous age. All aspects of feudal life safely eradicated from direct experience - old buildings, old customs, old murders, old mayhem - were re-drawn and re-written for genteel consumption. What existed in reality was being discarded for the image the paying public would have preferred to exist, and reason was studiously avoided. The gap between the relatively unchanged way of life of the traditional burgess and city poor and that of the new establishment and their followers was not just a gap in behaviour, manners, and income, but a gulf in perception, in the interpretation of the cause and outcome of common experience within what had once been the same community[651].

The few years of revolutionary social thought gave the Man of Feeling and his friends real cause to fear the vulgar, and neither propriety nor sentiment were conducive to facing the social consequences of a politicised labouring class. Those who

now made up the hierarchy of Edinburgh society were all members of what had been the third estate, all dependant on profit not property. The existence of an inferior order of inhabitants was one of the self-defining boundaries of their superior position, separated from others of their former estate only by the fragile barriers of their own opinion, their own code of manners, and their own virtually exclusive residential areas. "There is", said one observer,

> "hardly one feature in the present state of society, compared to what it was at the beginning of my life, which strikes me more than the absence of those outward distinctions which formerly characterised different classes, and not only different classes, but also in a degree now unknown, the individuals of which society was composed. At the time various modes of dress indicated at first sight the rank, the profession, and the age of every individual. Now, even servants are hardly distinguishable in their equipment from their masters and mistresses."[652]

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, more and more displaced rural labourers began to congregate in Edinburgh, attracted by the possibility of work, however menial. Neither the north nor south suburb would or could accommodate such newcomers, so the city proper, which already had a number of socially unacceptable areas, was their only refuge, thus becoming even less acceptable to aspiring merchants and professionals. To what degree this hardening of attitudes, and the increasingly segregated social composition of old and new areas, was reflected by petitions to the Guild Court will now be investigated.

The Framework

From 1775 onwards, the balance between old and new shifted drastically due to the amount of building taking place in the suburbs, nearly as much as had occurred during the whole history of the pre-1746 city's existence. This proved the death blow

for the old framework's underlying rationale as a finite, protective enclosure, for there was no longer any point in protecting insiders and confusing outsiders if no discrimination could be made between the two. The benefits that had been provided became not just redundant, but positive disadvantages, crippling new needs the framework no longer reflected; not fit for the aristocracy, who were leaving the city altogether; not fit for the merchants and professionals, who needed to have their aspirations to status physically bolstered; not fit for the old-fashioned who were beginning to suffer from the collapse of "good neighbourhood"; and not fit for the poor, who were hidden from the view of those who should have been concerned with their plight.

Though the affections of society had altered, those of the site stayed constant, and if the usefulness of the old framework could no longer be supported, its form, at least, retained its integrity, protected by the very strength of the topography from radical change. On one side, a strong boundary was maintained by the empty Nor' loch valley; the Calton hill and Arthur's Seat held the form of the Canongate between them; and the Castle rock together with the combined lands of Greyfriars and Heriots kept the Grassmarket free from incursions. Only the centre of the south boundary, between the Pleasance and Bristo, was left unguarded by the topography and it was here - and only here - that the old framework was drastically altered to merge with the new.

In 1775, Drummond's ambition to "gain an avenue to the south" was revived in a proposal to erect a bridge over the Cowgate; "however", said Kincaid, "the old idea of erecting a port at the south end, raising the Tolls, and erecting new ones, [were] made part of the proposals, in consequence of which it was dropped"[653]. It was not until the election of James Hunter[654] the banker, as Provost - a man of sufficient determination and civic as well as personal ambition - that Drummond's scheme was finally put into effect. On the 14th of September 1785, an Act "for Opening Easy and Commodious Communication from the High Street of Edinburgh to the Country Southwards" was passed. The foundation stone of a bridge over the Cowgate was laid

the same year, and in November 1786, the first lots were sold by auction in the old Justiciary Court-House. As in every previous scheme, the list of Trustees is a direct reflection of the most prominent citizens of the time, in this case made up of Henry Dundas, James Hunter (Blair) as Lord Provost, Ilay Campbell as Lord Advocate, Sir William Forbes the banker and Hunter's partner, Robert Macqueen (law) Lord Braxfield (who would become infamous for his conduct of the 1793 sedition trials), Archibald McDowal, merchant and Dean of Guild, John Grieve, merchant, William Jameson, mason and Convener of the Trades, John Davidson, WS (and Crown Agent), Neil McViccar, merchant, and finally James Brown, now termed "Architect". The earlier attempt to maintain control over entry to the city proper by building a new port was now completely abandoned. Instead, the inhabitants of the "Squares, Streets and Buildings on the South Side of the said City" were incorporated within the town and paid heavily for the privilege. By the terms of the Act, the Land Tax payable by the City and its Liberties was equalised, and a proportion was extended over the "Districts to the South of the City, who have consented thereto, in Consideration of certain Advantages to be communicated to them...".

The Cowgate or South Bridge had a more damaging effect on the fabric and framework than had its predecessor to the north. Firstly, it was conceived as a much grander scheme, (with both Robert Adam and James Craig producing grandiose plans and elevations, neither of which was accepted) taking in areas not just under the new street itself, but on either of its sides. Secondly, its path ploughed through the centre of the old city, obliterating major thoroughfares - Niddry's, Peebles, and Marlin's Wynds - major markets - the green market and the old fish market - and many of the fashionable, and the comfortable, east-Cowgate houses built over the previous twenty years -

> "the Tenement belonging to the Corporation of Wrights and Masons,..the Tenements belonging to the heirs of William Syme and James Reoch, all fronting the Cowgate; the Tenement of Houses belonging to the heirs of Lord Covington and to Miss Crawford

and Robert Sinclair Esquire, and the Ground and houses between the said Tenement and Olivestob's Tenements, the Whole of the Stables and Coach-houses, and other Office-houses, on the South Side of Adam's Square, and the houses on the West of these ... and lying between them and Hastie's Close..."[655] [fig. 153]

A tricky problem in unifying high and low levels was being posed by the very size and bulk of developments along the new streets together with the demand for a fairly constant roof-line, both of which eliminated the opportunity for gradual changes in height. Only Robert Adam attempted to integrate the lower areas into the new scheme, showing in his "Impression" an immense development which took in not just the sides of Bridge Street but the Cowgate itself: the Cowgate is recast as a wide carriageway, the valley bottom seems massively built up to decrease the pitch of the slopes leading down to it, and the street is edged by large blocks, more ornate and expensive than any in either of the two suburbs [fig. 154]. (In one of his many bridge elevations, the upper is linked to the lower level by an elegant, formal, double stair.) The same problem was later tackled less expensively and more successfully in another large scheme of about the same time, at the top of Leith Street north-east of Register House to which reference has already been made: here, an upper walkway facing into the road to Leith masked the excessive height by breaking the facade horizontally into two, staggered, elevations; a less disproportionate visual link was then formed between the lower range and lower buildings on the east side, and the higher range appeared to maintain a consistent height from both the (real) ground on one side and the artificial ground on the other. (This solution was also used in the nineteenth-century reforming of the West Bow.)

The design which was adopted, that of Robert Kay, the city's surveyor, was smaller, simpler, infinitely less costly than Adam's, and took a more pragmatic attitude to the surrounding areas (which will be discussed in the next section). Almost overnight, the wynds and public closes to the south of the High Street were stripped of status. The richer citizens had little reason to continue to use them, and therefore the shopkeepers

dependant on their custom either closed or moved. Houses to the east and west lost value since even the most conservative and traditionally-minded of the lesser gentry had little desire to live permanently overshadowed and overlooked by the passing throng[656].

One other alteration - a second link to the north - took place from 1782 onwards, but with little immediate effect on the framework. An earthen mound or embankment between the Lawnmarket and Princes Street began to be formed from rubbish excavated from New Town lots, but was separated from the existing closes by both the gardens to the north, and then by the continuation of Bellhouse Brae. The area which would eventually be affected - between Baxter's and Morocco Close - was not a densely built-up or populated neighbourhood, and many of the houses which, by 1786, the Town Council was buying for a "Lawn Market Communication"[657], were already waste or ruinous. The eventual road merely acted as a broad wynd with beneficial rather than deleterious consequences, expanding an existing route, clearing some badly maintained areas, and bringing "carriage" trade back into the High Street.

In the long term, the roads driven through the framework in the 1770s and 1780s probably saved the town's wynds and closes from any determined attempt to alter their character. A social and visual bypass had been created and the desire to alter or obliterate them waned with the passing of their richer inhabitants: out of sight, they eventually went out of mind. In the short term, the road-building unfortunately added to that "variegated appearance", which, said Alexander Kincaid, "must look uncouth to strangers". In the view of this 1780s' man: "... the present improvements, by pulling down so many houses, digging up the streets, and demolishing the ports and walls, give a kind of ruinous appearance, from which it must be some time before the City can recover itself"[658].

Major Developments

"With regard to the general appearance of the City, the elegance and beauty of the New Town has rendered even those parts of the Old City which formerly might be thought to deserve notice, less remarkable, in so much, that it has lately been the care of the Magistrates to beautify this part of the metropolis as much as possible"[659]

In their attempts to "beautify" the old city, the care of the Magistrates was for the first time not just concentrated on its public face, the High Street, as in the past, but also on the Bridges, the new street which joined the two suburbs. While the first lots of the North Bridge scheme were sold in 1766 and of the South Bridge in 1786, buildings on the earlier were still being finished as late as 1788, their construction delayed first by the collapse of the bridge (which was not reopened until 1772), then by the war-induced recession[660]. Though their actual construction overlapped, the twenty year gap in the schemes' origins showed in a number of differences. Along the North Bridge, the Council built the under stories and developers built on top, from bridge level upwards[661]. Along the South Bridge, the total cost of construction from ground upwards was borne solely by the developer, except in the lot facing the Cowgate whose south gable was to be built by the Trustees[662]. In some of the North Bridge lots, each floor had been sold off separately and squabbles were arising over the division of cost[663], but the South Bridge lots appear to have been each bought in its entirety by one developer.

The new scheme's design, by Robert Kay, may have been uninspiring when compared to the much more sophisticated but unrealised proposals of Robert Adam. Compared to North Bridge Street, it was, in contemporary eyes, a great improvement. The North Bridge buildings varied both in height (from bridge level upwards) and elevation, though the corner blocks appear to have been identical [fig. 155]. On South Bridge Street, the elevation was blamelessly, if boringly regular[664] - three storeys and attics, with a pedimented gable on every third lot, and full height, uniformly spaced, arched windows on the ground floor for shops [fig. 156]. (It is interesting to note that the 1788 design of the delayed North Bridge south-west corner block almost matched

the new block opposite, which suggests that Kay's South Bridge had merely adapted these key elements of the earlier scheme).

The unified whole, or at least, one uniform street at bridge level - "supposed to be as regular as any in Europe"[665] - was achieved at the expense of two others, less uniform, at either side. To keep the even height of Bridge Street elevations, buildings had to compensate with more and more semi-basement stories as ground floors plummeted down the hill on the newly constituted Niddry and Blair Street sides [fig. 157]. Though not quite the famed "unimaginable" height of thirteen stories, the seven-storied Cowgate corners were still extremely high and should have been illegal. Niddry Street at least was discernably a "rear" elevation, though fronting what had been, and might still have been, an important public thoroughfare; the walls were of uncoursed rubble as opposed to ashlar; no attempt was made to rationalise the ground floor openings; and small, now almost archaic gablets ornamented each wall head. Internally, the common stair, an elegant cantilevered spiral above, became a traditional turnpike with heavy newel below Bridge Street level, and the houses, where all rooms to the bridge's vaulted substructure had no means of natural light, could be used to advantage only by leasing as inns, taverns and warehouses. Despite the new Concert hall at its foot, the east side of Niddry Street was planned as a meuse for stables, shades, and workhouses, thus in contemporary eyes, could have no pretensions to status. West of the bridge, Blair Street, with a wide carriageway and a new semi-residential west side, came off much better particularly at its northern end where it faced into Hunter Square. It is interesting that, in contrast, the earlier North Bridge seemed to have had minimal affect on its surroundings; Miln's Square, for example, gives no sign of loss of status, or at least no more than every other old town lodging was experiencing[666], and the market not only stayed in place below the bridge but continued to expand[667] [fig. 158].

Though it cannot be argued that by the start of the scheme any of the more notable residents had recently lived in the buildings to be demolished, the impression that the

area north of the Cowgate was a derelict slum is just as unsupportable. Many of the houses were of considerable size, some with courts, a few with gardens, their interiors out-moded but not sub-divided, still let to the solid if unfashionable middle stratum of citizens[668]. The same degree of repairs and alterations were carried out in Niddry's, Marlin's, and Peebles Wynds throughout the 70s as in every other part of town[669], and there is no reason to suppose the area was in worse condition than any other. On the contrary, it had contained two notable public buildings; the one, St. Mary's Chapel, the hall of the Incorporation of Masons, was demolished, while the other, St. Cecilia's, the expensive, newly-erected Concert Hall, was left stranded in the middle of a vast building site, never to recover its fleeting moment of social glory.

Sold from 1786 onwards, the first South Bridge lots, on the east side from the High Street southwards, reached extremely high prices; in the November auction, the first area, fronting the High Street sold for £2,860, the second for £2,125, and the third for £2,065. More auctions in December brought in similar amounts[670]. Purchasers were given the right to one or more of the arches under the street, the use of materials from the old houses on the east side of Niddry's Wynd, and had to finish building by Whitsun 1788. The western lots were sold next, and the remainder of the eastern lots, between the Cowgate and the street leading to the Infirmary, were being auctioned by 1790; "On account of the vicinity of the University ...the fine prospect to the east of Aberlady Bay etc and the great width opposite to Adam's Square", these, said an advertisement, "... are of more value, and more eligible for buildings than most of those formerly sold by the Trustees"[671].

On the High Street, the structures of adjoining front lands were so interconnected that few could be taken down without severely affecting the stability of others. As had happened in the alterations of the 1750s, the upheaval caused by the new scheme began a run of demolitions and refrontings, and between 1787 and 1790 almost the whole of the High Street's south side was refaced from Blair Street westwards, until the rebuilt front lands of the 1750s were met at Con's Close. (It is probably worth

repeating that in the petitions, "ruinous" appears to have meant dilapidated rather than in ruins, and "waste" to have meant unused rather than devastated. When a "waste" and "ruinous" tenement was taken down or collapsed, this could refer to as little as a few feet of masonry to a wall. "Refronting" means no more than it says.)

The first tenement to be taken down stood at the head of Peebles Wynd, in the way of the new Blair street corner. A "danger to the public", its destruction was already inevitable, and in September 1787 the Trustees were ordered to demolish it, and the tenants to "move or flitt" within seven days[672]. By May 1788, the new owner, scheme-designer Robert Kay, reported that work was beginning to have dangerous effects "in respect of the connection of his Old Buildings with the house immediately on the west"[673] [fig. 159]. This was an old, impressive structure, part of the "Black Turnpike", which at the time was widely held to date from 1461. Its owners, the Trustees and John Neal, merchant, were then ordered to take it down, and all trace of its existence was completely eradicated[674]. By December 1788, the "taking down of Wilkie's Land" (the westmost part of the same building) had affected the east gable and north front of Brown's Land, at the head of Bell's Wynd, and both were ordered to be rebuilt[675] [fig. 160].

The Blair Street corner block, designed as a key part of the scheme's overall plan, had three main storeys with laigh and attic, and was formal, symmetrical, and pedimented. To its west, nearly all the new fronts followed the same pattern - an extremely plain, five-storied facade of polished ashlar - with most gaining an extra storey, or at least a greater floor-to-ceiling height in the process. The two blocks to the west of the Blair Street corner were re-erected in 1789[676] [fig. 161], then a year later, the "Clamshell" tenement between Bell's and Burnett's Wynd was rebuilt to a design of Robert Kay (chosen by the proprietors "after some dispute")[677] [fig. 162]. Its ground floor elevation carried on the predominant style of the other tenements to the east, consisting of a number of arched openings, of different heights, widths, and springings, to high and laigh shops, common stairs, and closes and wynds. To these,

Kay added an ornamental door-piece, and, from the evidence of the drawing, made a particularly unhappy attempt to rationalise the openings. The only design to achieve ground floor symmetry was the last of the series, yet another five-storied block west of Covenant Close; four attached columns on the ground floor were repeated, with slightly more slender proportion, on the first floor, and balustraded between - a quality of design unlike any previous shop front in either the city proper or its two suburbs[678] [fig. 163].

Robert Kay (1740 -1818[679]), neither mason, wright, nor - except on the Blair Street corner - developer, is first mentioned in the Guild Court documents in his own petition of 1782, where, under the trade of "Drawing Master", he applied for permission to heighten the roof of an old house he had purchased in Sandilands Close in order to achieve "proper back lights"[680]. In the following year, he was involved in another roof alteration, this time for the owner of a large, uppermost storey (bought for £175 sterling) on the middle of Blackfriars Wynd's west side. The new slate-roofed storey, which was to be added above what had been an old lead platform, had an odd internal plan, its partitions and windows almost perversely unaligned with the original, which from the drawing appears to be a fairly elegant late seventeenth-century design[681] [fig. 164]. By the late 80s, Kay was, of course, occupied with the South Bridge, but as well as that he is said to have been paid by the Council for a drawing of Charlotte Square in 1787[682], and he appears once again in Dr. Munro's proposal to build by Nicolson Street "to a plan drawn by Robert Kay" [see fig.141]. In addition to his own tenement and Clamshell Land (mentioned above), Kay continued to receive commissions - for Elliots Land in 1793, and for Whiteslades Land in 1794 (both fronting James Court) - in the next wave of damaged mutual gables and refrontings which scoured the High Street's northern frontages in the early 90s[683] [figs. 165, 166].

Signs of this coming change to the north side of the Lawnmarket became apparent between 1780 and 1788, when most of the lands between Galloway's and Celler's

Close[684], and a few between Paterson's and Milne's Court, were given major structural repairs and rebuilt to some extent - including the compulsory demolition of the "Temple Land", belonging to George Fairholme of Greenhill at the head of Paterson's Court in 1780[685] [fig. 167] - then from 1793, the spate of new facades swept down the street in earnest. As Kay began on James Court, rebuilding gathered speed on the east side of the Exchange, with Peacock's Land rebuilt in 1793, Clarkson's Land in 1795, and Richardson's Land in 1796, all between Anchor and Geddes Close[686] [figs. 168, 169, 170], and when these new fronts were added to the 1750s' alterations west of Writers Court, the "beautification" of the High Street proper was almost complete. (The lands which actually stood in the way of the new "communication to the Earthen Mound" - the "stone tenement immediately east of the entry to Paterson's court and extending east to the large wooden fronted tenement lying between the entry to Galloway's and Dunbar's Close" - were not themselves demolished until 1797[687].) By the late 1790s, the variegated appearance of which Kincaid complained was nearly eradicated. On both sides of the High Street, from the bridges westwards to the Weigh house, only a very few timber lands remained.

While the North and South Bridge schemes were still being planned, and despite the city's massive expansion outside the old boundary, the development of the Society had continued steadily. First the waste yards and ruinous barns of the Cleghorns' brewery and Thomson's Yards had been swallowed up, then new buildings spread north, almost to the Cowgate. In their path lay the grounds of Merchants Court, a fifteenth-century building which as its name suggests had been used from 1691 as the hall of the Company of Merchants (see fig.22)[688]. Though the Company had moved to the new High Exchange building in Parliament Close in 1726, and then to the new Exchange about thirty years later, it was still the owner of the property, both building (valued at £1,800[689]) and ground. In 1773, the Excise Office, its tenants from 1730, gave up their lease of the court, and though the British Linen Bank had made an unsuccessful bid to lease the property in the early 50s, they were now comfortably

settled in Moray House[690]. Since the Company was unlikely to find any other tenant willing or able to lease the whole property as the Excise had done, it was decided to let out the building in parts, and, at the same time, to feu its large area to the south bordering Brown's Square (let as a bowling green from 1691), for development[691].

The first (remaining) petitions to build on the area to be known as Merchant Street were made in 1779, by Patrick Taylor, smith, and by a James Brown, named wright in Bristo but almost definitely the familiar builder of George Square, for a lot entered from Hume's Close and Candlemaker Row, and for the adjacent lot[692] [figs. 171, 172]. In 1780, Robert Burn, mason, feued a lot on which a building was already partly erected, and in 1781, George Callendar, wright, applied to extend the face of one of two buildings for which he already had warrant, one fronting Merchant Street and one fronting Candlemaker Row[693] [fig. 173]. Seemingly unhindered by the collapse of part of Taylor's tenement into Homes Close in 1782[694], the street was soon established as a genteel area, and in 1784, its proprietors together with those in Browns Square combined to purchase an area on the south side of Merchant Street, bounded west by Candlemaker Row, and east by a "small stripe of ground belonging to Lord Swinton, Mr Kerr of Abbotrull and Andrew Crumbie, dyer". This they intended to "level and inclose and take down the wall to the east", thus forming yet another small square, and ensuring that their area could not be over-built[695] [fig. 174].

The development of Merchant Street appears to have had a strong effect on Candlemaker Row, which from 1746 until 1776 had been the subject of only two (remaining) petitions, both relating to minor repairs to stabling near its foot[696]. Then from the late 70s, the pace of change accelerated. In 1777, an application was made to rebuild a tenement at the foot of the Row on the same foundations, and in 1782, the Procurator Fiscal ordered the repair of the "corner land turning from Cowgate to Candlemaker Row", particularly over the stair case[697] [fig. 175]. In 1783, George Callendar, having built two tenements in Merchant Street, applied to rebuild a "ruinous" tenement on the east of Candlemaker Row, next to ground feued by Mrs

Cleghorn to James Brown[698] [fig. 176], while in the same year Alexander Crichton, the coachmaker in Canongate, received warrant to enlarge two small shops[699], and in 1786, Mrs. Chalmers improved her grocers shop between the Row and Brown's Square with an elegant bow window[700] (see fig. 211). By then, George Callendar, like many other contractor-developers seems to have found himself in serious financial difficulties, for in February 1786, Callander's property was sold at public roup on behalf of the trustees for his creditors, and in 1787, the new owners of his two stables and back ground sought permission to convert them into two shops with small dwelling houses[701] (see fig. 212), and a candlemaker, who had bought "sundry tenements of land" at the foot of the row, proposed to alter their stair[702]. The only petition of the time relating to the other side of the street - to take down and rebuild a small house on its tenement of land adjacent to the south side of the entry to Grayfriars' Churchyard - was made in 1784, by the Incorporation of Candlemakers (who owned nearly all the western property)[703].

The neighbourhood of the Society, that first enclave of new gentility nestling in the corner of the southern city wall and Candlemaker Row, was a peculiarly extreme mixture of old and new. The incongruities of its situation were highlighted by the restrictions imposed on a new building at its south, next to Bristo Port, which was being re-erected by a Thomas Potts, merchant. Potts' design of 1782 was, on the one hand, one of the most modern within the old royalty, with a three-storied bow as the main feature of its new front. On the other hand, the west gable was superstructed on that most "feudal" of old town artifacts, the town wall [fig. 177]. Despite the new extended, and uncontrolled, royalty, despite the demolition of the Netherbow Port, and, above all, despite the broad new roads leading into and out of the city proper, Potts was still required to bind himself "to fufill and perform all and every Restriction ... [including the] Tirlacing or Stanchling of these [new] windows"[704]. Even in the 1780s, the barred impenetrable mass of feudal protectivism continued unchanged behind the mask of his elegant new front. Having had to abide by such a totally

anachronistic stipulation, it must have been particularly irritating to Potts when, in 1786, 200 yards of the city wall on the south side of Heriot's Hospital was offered for sale, and the masonry was removed two years later[705].

As well as the houses round and about the Society, a number of decent, almost genteel, though less expensive tenements, continued to be built in or by what had been till recently other elegant neighbourhoods. Few of the newly-rich were involved, no equivalents of Charteris or Young. Mostly the developers were tradesmen-contractors, investing in familiar territory in the traditional way, and of these, two families were particularly prominent at the time. The first was showing no inclination to extend its field of operations, though in the event it had little opportunity to do so. The second was already widely known for infinitely more expensive works, but, like the Adam family until the death of the eldest brother John, was still maintaining an interest in the city. Even today, two centuries later, both are still familiar names though for entirely different reasons.

Four times Deacon of Wrights and Trades Councillor in 1784, Francis Brodie was an important member of the Edinburgh trades. His family, like many others of his generation, followed a variety of occupations, all equally suitable for the offspring of the very minor gentry; his grandfather was Brodie of Milnton, his father was Ludovick Brodie of Whytefield, WS, and his brother was a surgeon "of eminence in Edinburgh"[706]. Besides his large furniture workshop and warehouse, and his building activities, Francis Brodie also owned extensive property in Brodie's Close Lawnmarket. His son William also became a Deacon of Wrights - in 1781, 1782, 1783, 1786, and 1787. Said to have held the casting vote in the election of Sir Laurence Dundas as Member for the City in 1781, Brodie was suspected, said Henry MacKenzie, "of being adverse to Sir Lawrence for a natural enough reason, that he had got his furniture from London, not from the Deacon"[707].

After the completion of his tenement in Horse Wynd (by the Palace), next to the Marquis of Lothian's new house, Francis Brodie seems to concentrated on acquiring

and developing sites by the house of another of Edinburgh's grandees, George, Marquis of Tweedale. At this former centre of fashionable and political life, south-west of the now demolished Netherbow, many of the more notable residents had already flitted to other areas, Lord Milton to his own house in the 50s, Lord Hailes to the Canongate in the 60s, the Physicians to their new hall in George Street in the 70s, and Tweedale himself had recently leased his house to a Writer to the Signet. While still a reputable quarter, there had been a significant decline in the status of its residents, but the well-to-do lawyers, merchants and tradesmen who now occupied the former lodgings of the establishment and nobility were suitable purchasers for Brodie's new, well-finished, three and four-roomed houses.

By 1776, Francis Brodie had bought part of one of the number of older lands exposed to the street after the demolition of the Netherbow Port, and which, within a decade, were being found "crazy" or ruinous. As usual, when work began (in this case while the foundations were being cleared for rebuilding), the condition of the east gable of the tenement immediately to their west began to cause concern, and was declared to be in a dangerous condition[708]. Brodie's new building, which eventually incorporated both original and adjoining tenements, was being finished by 1779[709], and in 1781, he began to take down and rebuild another ruinous tenement in the same area, between Tweedale and World's End Close, bounded to the south by "the old part of the Marquis of Tweedale's house"[710] **[figs. 178, 179]**.

Unfortunately, not all the dilapidated houses in the area had been repaired, and behind the frontlands the new respectable if not elevated occupiers looked out over a neighbourhood which both physically and socially was in decay. Behind Brodie's building of 1779 lay the property of James Loch which had been a fairly elegant single residence up to the 1760s. From 1762, when the stables built by the tenant of Sir David Dalrymple's house (see Chapter 4.) had so badly affected its entrance and view, it had declined to such a state that in 1774, the Procurator fiscal asked for its demolition as "crazy" and out of plumb. What followed must have been the pattern set for many

other unfashionable older houses. The former owner's heir, James Loch, the King's Remembrancer in the Exchequer, having taken no action, in 1785 he was ordered to rebuild within a year and a day or value and sell, as "for upwards of three years [it] has been uninhabited and a ruin and the area used as a common jakes to the reproach of the Burgh being situated upon the most patint intry leading into the City from the South". A year later, as no repairs had been made, Loch's Land, valued at £100 sterling, was without success "exposed to publick Roup". By Autumn 1787, Loch was unsuccessfully appealing against the Court's order to take down his tenement and asking for more time to sell, and by 1788, the demolition had been completed and John Mylne, mason, was submitting his account for the work[711]. All building work in the area, other than Brodies', was of a low social and architectural order, and only served to confirm the neighbourhood's loss of status[712]. Though any of these other sites, and particularly Loch's Land, might have appeared a suitable new development for the Brodie family, in the year of its demolition their progress was stopped by a major scandal. In the Spring of 1788, Francis Brodie's son William fled to Holland after leading the attempted robbery of the Excise Office, but was returned, tried, and executed the same year. The sign of Palladio's head was bought at the roup of his goods, and painted over in black to take the new owner's name. Overnight, white tears were applied "like those on the doors of monuments" with the words *Sic Transit Gloria Mundi*[713]. Little more is heard of the family thereafter.

The second family, the Mylnes, carried a name prominent in the history of Edinburgh's buildings. The most long-lasting and renowned family of masons in Scotland, for eleven successive generations[714] they had practised their trade, often as principal master masons to monarchs from James III to Charles II[715], as well as pursuing their own development schemes throughout the Kingdom. The current representatives of the family had spent some years abroad, where the more famous brother Robert (1733-1811) twice won papal medals at the Academy of St. Luke in Rome. After this success, the brothers set up an office in England, and by the 1770s,

had established a wide practice (including Blackfriars Bridge, 1760-9). As well as their major Edinburgh works, St Cecilia's Hall and the North Bridge, which have already been mentioned in earlier chapters, William (1734-1790), had also been involved in the normal undistinguished practice of the Edinburgh mason throughout the 1760s and 1770s; taking down part of Gavinlock's Land, and building stables in World's End Close in 1762; taking down the tenement at the head of Cap and Feather Close and rebuilding the east gable of "Mill's" Square in 1766 as "undertaker of the new bridge"; building new houses in High School Yards in 1767; and demolishing the gable of the foreland of "Milnes" Square in 1771[716].

Brodie was not alone in seeing opportunities in Tweedale's neighbourhood. "William Milne, late architect in Edinburgh" also had acquired property nearby, in Gray's Close at its western edge, and was represented by Robert Selby, plumber, as his "factor or doer" in replying to a complaint of the (unwarranted) alterations to the interior of the undermost storey in 1783[717]. The belated warrant drawing shows a six-roomed ground floor house with a long, tortuous corridor, converted into five rooms, four entered directly off a good-sized entrance hall, one of these being an elegant oval salon [fig. 180]. Selby was a plumber whose name appears in warrants for the repairing and replacing of lead platforms from the 1760s[718], and who seems to have acted for both brothers during their absences from Edinburgh. In 1782, a design for a rebuilt tenement in the West Bow was submitted under the name of "Robert Milne, Esq. Architect in London", by Selby as his trustee[719] [fig. 181]. Apart from the comparative refinement of the drawing itself and the central first floor window, the elevation shows no particularly significant features.

The last of the Mylnes' petitions in the 80s was submitted in Robert's name by a new factor, Alexander Brown, merchant, in 1786, and concerned the making of a stair from the Veal Market into the Mylnes' low property at the back of Miln's Square[720]. Though of no architectural interest, it shows just how varied were the means of access from high and low levels within the town [fig. 182]. Despite North Bridge Street's

formal, impenetrable appearance, the inhabitants appeared to have both viewed and used it as yet another wynd, the unfamiliar confines of its walls to be broken at will using any available short-cuts, public or private, to the lower ground. Complaints had already come from the proprietors of the south-most tenement on the east side of the street, whose stair to Halkerstone's Wynd was being abused despite the closing of doors at its head and foot[721]. On the west, a gateway ten feet wide leading to stairs down to the fleshmarket had been built for the convenience of the bridge shop proprietor[722], and another stair which led to Milns Square, this time unwarranted (which may have been the one shown in the Mylne drawing), was removed in the building of a tenement in 1788.

Three other Milns, Milnes, or Mylnes, appear in petitions; John, a founder, appears from 1748 to 1779, always in regard to alterations of his own property between the foot of Barringers and Chalmers Close, and his shop at the head of Morocco Close, Lawnmarket[723], Thomas, a mason, is referred to in the 1750s, and another John, a mason, was responsible for the demolition of Loch's Land in 1788.

Throughout the older town, though mainly in the Canongate, other tradesmen and merchants continued to invest in property, but to a much lesser extent than in the previous fifteen years. The houses themselves were, in general, smaller, less spacious, and less expensive than before, some as small as the two-storied house, presumably for labourers or servants, at the back of a stabler's yard on the north side of the Grassmarket of 1787229 [fig. 188]. Just as the Society development continued regardless, so, in its down-market way, did the area east of Leith Wynd, just outside the Netherbow. Near the earlier development of James Ramsay in the fleshmarket, James Mckell, hookmaker in Leith Wynd, rebuilt his own ruinous land in 1779[724] [fig. 184], and two wrights applied for warrant to build a tenement "for dwelling houses and apartments for the carrying on their Business as wrights" on a yard "upon part of which there were formerly some Booths and toofall Dwelling houses..." on an adjacent site (see fig. 98), an intention which met with strong opposition from the recent

purchasers of Ramsay's new west tenement[725] [fig. 185]. Ramsay himself, with others, continued his activities further east, rebuilding an "old waste tenement of land" at the head of Lochend Close in 1776[726] [fig. 183].

In another of the popular areas of the 1760s near Chessels' buildings (where his daughter continued to fight off the encroachments of socially undesirable neighbours), a land in Plainstone Close, condemned by the court, was taken down and rebuilt in 1780[727], as was an old thatched tenement in Pieries Close[728] [figs. 186, 187]. However many petitions and complaints were made by Helen Chessels and others, the building speculations of the 1760s had triggered the rise of lesser, not greater, constructions in their areas, and they themselves were now, in the 70s and 80s, beginning to suffer socially from their effect.

While it is possible that expensive houses in themselves were still being built, and that the petitions and drawings relating to them have been lost or stolen, it would seem more likely that, they were no longer being constructed in the old royalty. Only petitions relating to small, relatively inexpensive single houses remain, all, in contemporary eyes, in less desirable areas: a two-storied and attic house of eleven rooms and closets for Mrs Colvin in 1781 in the former Tennis Court at the Watergate[729] [fig. 189]; a two-storied and attic house of six rooms with ground floor shop for Alexander Leggat, broker, on the site of an old coach house in St. Mary's Wynd in 1782[730] [fig. 190]; a neat two-storied and attic house of seven rooms and closets at the foot of Rae's Close Canongate for James Izett, hat maker in 1787[731] [fig. 191]; and a three-storied house above a ground floor shop of nine rooms for Baillie George Rae, candlemaker, at Canongate's foot in 1789[732] **[fig. 192]**.

None of the new generation, rising in their trades and professions, had known Edinburgh as a "feudal" capital. Their attitude to the customs and behaviour established by a feudal organisation was therefore intrinsically different from that of their parents: far from knowing only one social code, that they could accept or attempt to change, the new men faced two equal and in many ways opposing standards of

behaviour, of which the older must have been sometimes incomprehensible, and almost alien, and the newer unfixed, still able to be modified or overset. Some sons of the previous generation's aspiring middle class, had lived only in a new built villa, and for them the acquisition of a certain type of property was slowly becoming, in itself, the signal of achievement: equally the possession of an earlier dwelling could come to be viewed not merely as an inconvenience but as a sign of social failure, their residents assigned to the ranks of those refusing or failing to climb the new social structure. By the end of the era, it could be argued that only the unassailable or eccentric could afford to risk the social implications of what, for rising men, was being seen as an unconventional lodging, or an undesirable area.

Of the four neat villas built in the first half of the century - the Duke of Douglas's, Lord Covington's, Ross House, and Minto House - none were still used by the family of the original owner, and none by families of equal status, though the houses themselves were "modern", well decorated and spacious (but not unmanageably large), with extensive garden grounds. The Duke's house was briefly used by the Earl of Fife, then by Roger Robertson of Ladykirk and Ludovick Grant, accountant[733]. Lord Covington's was possessed by the Post Office then by the Society of Antiquaries. Ross house and the remains of its park which had been bought by General Alexander Mackay about 1787, and put up for sale the year after his death in 1789[734], remained empty until 1793, when it was opened as a hospital by Dr. Alexander Hamilton, Professor of Midwifery[735]. By 1776 Minto house had been bought by Captain Archibald Grant of Monymusk, a very respectable possessor whose intention "to keep a cow in one of the low apartments on the north side of the Gateway which leads to his dwelling house"[736] gave his petition particular interest, being the only reference to animals other than horses which occurred in the forty-five years of petitions researched. All these villas had lost part of their land by the 1770s. None as yet had undergone any spectacular decline in status, such as described in the *Letters* of 1783 (by the publisher Creech) appended to Arnot's *History of Edinburgh* and quoted

thereafter by Chambers and others[737].

Major Buildings

In the first years of the period, works requiring large amounts of funding, including the remainder of the proposed "improvements" of 1752, almost ceased in the inevitable recession which followed the opening of the expensive war against the American colonists. But, in the late 1780s, when the national economy had recovered after the peace treaties of 1782, there began the greatest construction of major public buildings seen in Edinburgh since the sixteenth century. An enormous energy was put into a few years of vigourous expansion, only to be halted yet again by the outbreak of war with the French in 1793.

Of the nine major buildings erected - Register house (1774 onwards), Physicians hall (1775), St. Andrews Church (1781-87), the two Assembly halls (1785 and 1787), the Observatory (1776-1792), the Bridewell (1791-1796), the College (1789 onwards), the High School (1777) - only the last two were within the city proper. Both were the responsibility of the Council, and both were rebuilt on the same position they had held since their foundation in the sixteenth century. The lack of space in the High School had been causing problems from the beginning of the century, and by the 1770s, the inconveniences were so great that even in the straightened first years of the war, money was donated to fund a new building by public subscription. In 1777, a long, two-storied, classical block designed by Alexander Laing[738], was erected immediately east of the old High School, at a cost of c.£4,000 sterling[739] [fig. 193]. The College (now occasionally termed the University), with its extensive courts and halls, was a much greater challenge to the public purse, particularly since it seems that only its appearance, not the accommodation, was at fault. The buildings themselves were well maintained, and some had extremely elegant interiors. As Kincaid in his *History* of 1785 admitted: "Those edifices are tolerably commodious within, but many parts of

them have a ruinous appearance without; and the whole is inconsistent with the dignity and fame of such a celebrated University"[740]. A source of civic irritation for many years, only lack of funds had prevented their replacement, and when work was finally approved and partly funded as part of the South Bridge Act of May 1785[741], an appeal for subscriptions was made not only throughout Scotland but also in London newspapers. Robert Adam was appointed architect in 1789, and the foundation stone was laid the same year[742]. By the end of 1790, nearly half the cost had been raised[743] and by the summer of 1791 some of the new accommodation was just about ready for occupation[744]. In 1792, Robert Adam died, and following his death and the death of Principal Robertson in 1793, the flurry of activity ended; war again broke out in 1793, and, as with Register House in the previous decade, as money ran out work gradually ground to a halt. A "considerable part of the east and north fronts [were left] unroofed with the beams and joisting exposed to the injury of the weather", and the students then suffered "greater inconveniences than were felt during the miserable state of the old buildings"[745] [fig. 194].

The proposed design for the University could be considered a more formally organised version of the old College which had been an inward looking, enclosed area of three courts, with various halls and houses all contained within a wall (joined to the southern part of the town wall) pierced by two gateways, one, to the north "in a lofty Bell Tower"[746], and the other at Potterrow Port. The new, with its defensive, impenetrable, perimeter walls, its great quadrangle[747], and the magnificent gate to Bridge Street was not dissimilar in its essential features though its style was totally opposed to the older aesthetic. Both the High school and the great Adam design for the University were classically inspired; fit housing for what was still a classical education. For such completely new buildings, the choice of any other style would at the time have been perverse. Had adaption and addition been an option, the original halls might have encouraged another solution (though the frontage was determined by the Bridge Street classicism).

The gothick style had long been popular in England - "A few years ago", it was said in 1753, "everything was Gothic; our houses, our beds, our couches were all copied from some parts or other of our old cathedrals"[748] - but in Scotland, the only supporter of its early years was the Duke of Argyle at his new castle in Inverary. It was over twenty years later before the first gothick structure in Edinburgh was finally built; an observatory, which, in the early 1740s, had been planned but not executed as a battlemented design on the south row of the upper court of the College [fig. 195]. After the project was revived by the brother of James Short, the "celebrated optician", a new site was chosen on the Calton hill, an open area, neither part of the old city nor of the new suburbs. The Council granted half an acre of ground on liferent lease, Maclaurin's Trustees made over the remains of his fund for the first observatory, and in July 1776, the foundation stone for a building designed by James Craig was laid by the Lord Provost James Stoddart. Robert Adam, by that time one of the most popular designers in the United Kingdoms, then intervened, seemingly to some effect, though Craig's original intentions are now unknown. "Upon seeing the intended observatory, founded upon the top of an high and abrupt hill, which terminates in a precipice, ... [Adam] conceived the idea of giving the whole the appearance of a fortification, to which it was excellently adapted"[749]. "Accordingly", says Arnot,

> "the line was chalked out for enclosing the limits of the observatory, with a wall constructed with buttresses and embrasures, and having Gothic towers at the angles tower. The beauty of the design was so much admired, that the main object was forgot. The workmen left the observatory, already half built, and turned themselves to raise the tower on the south west brow of the hill"[750].

The new tower, accommodation for Mr. Short, exhausted the funds and the observatory was left uncompleted despite a hundred guineas donated by the Duke of Hamilton in 1777. In 1788, the Council took control of the work, and it was finished in 1792.

Positioning the observatory on a hill top, away from the smoke of the city, had an obvious practical logic, and making use of the picturesque quality of a difficult site was a harmless stylistic fantasy. In the next institution to be placed high above the city, in full view of all the populace, the use of the site and the style could be and was regarded as less innocent. In 1790, after much discussion on the suitability of its prominent position, the Calton Hill was chosen as the site of two new city jails for its "air, dryness and healthiness"[751]; one was to replace the House of Correction, and the other, that last great encumbrance to the High Street, the Tolbooth[752]. In 1791, work began with the Correction house, or Bridewell as it was now termed, a five-storied, semi-circular building designed by Robert Adam[753], which embodied many of the newest principles for the treatment of offenders [fig. 196]. A radial plan had already been put forward in a pamphlet of 1782, by Provost David Steuart and the Sheriff Depute of the County, Archibald Cockburn; acknowledging the theories of John Howard, they proposed that the Bridewell's inhabitants should be classified, segregated, and supervised, with the jailor's house in the centre of all, allowing him "to look into all the different subdivisions, and discover immediately if anything amiss is going on"[754]. Adam's plan was remarkably similar, also working on the "principle of invisible inspection" if less effectively than the original proposal[755]. It contained 134 sleeping-closets, eight feet by seven feet and each with a bed and bible, on the outside of the curve, and 52 working parlours or cages with a screen preventing the occupant of each cage from seeing into the next, round the inner curve[756]. The building was opened for petty offenders in 1796[757].

The design of the new Bridewell indicated a radical change of attitude to imprisonment, to the prisoners, and to the prison itself. The old Correction house had been a temporary holding place for the inconvenient, until they could be returned to their own parishes, sent to the colonies, or, after being compelled to work, returned chastened to the community. It had also been closely related to the Charity Workhouse, with little distinction made between the two in Council records[758]. Where the old

Correction house separated the children from the adults, and Steuart's pamphlet advocated "no communication between the refractory and incorrigible, and such as are less hardened", the Act of 1791 specified a continuous day and night separation of each prisoner even during work if possible. Though the worst the old Correction house supervisors had had to deal with were cases of insolence and abuse[759], Steuart's pamphlet proposed that on each of four turrets on the outer wall, there were to be swivel guns to shoot either outwards or inwards in case of riots. Such an escalation in the means of regulation and supervision must in some way reflect a growing fear in which vagrants were held. To a certain extent, a general increase of formal regulation was inevitable in order to deal with the huge increase of numbers of legal and illegal poor within the city, both of which made it impossible to know the individual or their needs as had previously been the case. There is no evidence that the disciplining of offenders was in any way harsher than before, and it is certain that, for health and cleanliness, conditions greatly improved, but the isolation and regimented imprisonment was dehumanising.

The extraordinary degree of regimentation within the new Bridewell was clothed in an equally extraordinary, almost palatial form. If the building's use is disregarded, the "castle-style" exterior, with its battlements, crowstepped gables, and small ornamental watch-turrets, is, like the Observatory, a picturesque response to a picturesque site, following a well-established principle which equated style and location. To the Edinburgh populace, without the soft focus given to the establishment by the finer points of aesthetics, and with every reason for holding no delusions on the impartiality of contemporary justice after the infamous sedition trials of 1793, the new style's romantic fantasy had connotations of another kind:

> "... as it was commenced at a time when the public mind was much agitated, and the architecture assumed a fortress-like appearance, the people were suspicious that it would form a sort of bastile, and be used for secret and tyrannic purposes"[760].

Repressive measures had already been taken against the Society of Friends of the People, the respectable face of the radical movement whose members included, at the start, some of the minor gentry such as Colonel Dalrymple of Fordel[761]. By the time its second Convention was held in May 1793, news of the appalling September massacres in Paris, the fact that war had been declared on France in February, and the many arrests for seditious libel[762] helped separate the moderates from more radical members, and at the third, last, and all-British convention, held just after the trial of Thomas Muir in August, the Council closed the meeting and some leading delegates were arrested to face the heavy sentence of fourteen years transportation.

As was remarked at the beginning of this chapter, no-one was more ruthlessly practical than the romantic in ensuring that a veil of sentiment decently obscured the detail of social conditions, and therefore the moral questions that should have arisen from their own conduct to other classes within society. It was the custom of the Man of Feeling to "select picturesque images amidst the vulgar images which surround them", and to reject "such accuracy as makes us shrink from the picture, squalid as it is with all the sickening accompaniments of poverty and wretchedness"[763]. The Bridewell therefore served two purposes with maximum efficiency; it provided a Picturesque image in the latest fashion to decorate the city, and it removed the troublesome from the public streets. That it may also have added to the repressive and fearful climate of the early 1790s was more than an added benefit, it was the core of its very success as a design, since only the rabble or dissidents from the Dundas party line would have cause to see its menace.

The gulf between the establishment's perception of contemporary social life and that of the general populace, had already been glaringly revealed in the public's reaction to the proposed relaxation of penal laws against Roman Catholics, which extended a newly passed English Bill to Scotland in 1778. Soon Arnot could note with approval that "a Popish chapel is presently building in Edinburgh" - a sign which he welcomed as demonstrating both "liberality and humanity", and,

"that the nation, which two centuries ago ... pulled in pieces those magnificent fabrics destined for the celebration of the religion by law established, should now permit a building to be raised for the purposes of the same religion, although discouraged by the most sanguinary laws"[764]

- but his approval proved premature as it was quickly followed by two days of serious rioting which broke out on the 2nd and 3rd of February in the same year. Both the chapel (at the foot of Trunk's Close[765]) and the new house of the Roman Catholic Bishop Hay were burnt and pillaged together with the old chapel and Hay's personal library in Blackfriars Wynd. The Town Council did little to restore order, and it has been suggested that Laurence Dundas, by then the leading opponent of Henry Dundas's influence within the town, was happy to embarrass both Buccleuch and Dundas. The violence, including an attempt to burn down Dr. Robertson's house[766], continued until the 6th of February, when the Council announced that the Relief Bill had been withdrawn, and that further disorders would be severely punished[767]. The week-long disturbances indicated how oblivious the Scottish leadership had become to the mood of those outwith their ranks; so successfully had the mild religious gentility of *Moderate* view isolated itself, by schism, and determined ignorance of the live and vigorous prejudices of "fanaticks", that when, for once, a liberal stance was promoted by the government, it failed resoundingly due to lack of readiness to deal with what in hindsight appears a predictably violent public outcry. In the view of a French commentator of 1790:

"Neither [the Moderates'] ... learning nor example has yet been able to banish entirely that enthusiastic spirit which has, for more than two centuries, been the characteristic of the vulgar. Satisfied with discovering truth for themselves, they have used no strenuous efforts to reform the multitude, which, they suppose, must always be governed by the grosser systems of mystery and error."[768]

The other public buildings of the period - the Physicians hall, the two Assembly halls, and the Archers' hall - were all erected for private societies and were all sited in either the north or south suburb. Their building made an enormous contrast to the situation in the 1740s, when only the Surgeons and Masons and Wrights had genteel halls built for that specific purpose, and the Hammermen occupied the most elegant of the older, (very similar) buildings adapted by the other Societies (social or trades), Guilds and Incorporations. By the late 1770s and 1780s, the difference in size, quality, and cost of halls was beyond comparison, and the trades had been left far behind in the race for architectural status. Merchants' hall, erected in Hunter Square in 1788, was the most expensive of a spate of convening rooms and halls, still sited within the city proper, which were built or rebuilt for the town's former establishment, but its cost of £1500[769], though not inconsiderable, was much less than half the amount expended by the Physicians in George Street [fig. 197]. The other were all comparatively tiny. In 1784, the Incorporation of Bakers of Canongate, proposed to erect an extremely simple, two-storied block - the Convening room above, and a bakehouse below, with an oven separated from the main rooms in its own smaller wing - on an area they had just acquired on the east side of Hammermen's Close[770] [fig. 198]. In 1787, the Canongate Hammermen themselves erected another simple building on a waste area of ground which they owned at the bottom of Morocco Close[771] [fig. 199]. The same year, the Lodge of Journeymen masons in Edinburgh, who had used part of their own property in Hodge's Close on the east side of Blackfriars Wynd as a lodge, proposed to raise the part known as Callander's house and put on a square roof to gain more space for their needs. (Though the elevation of the small, four-storied, block is much more elegant than either of the other proposals, it is not known if the first floor dated from before or after the rebuilding[772] [fig. 200]). The Society of Writers, still in Miln's building in Writers' Court next to the Exchange, were, by 1784, also finding their first floor premises too small for the Signet Office. Instead of moving, the Society bought the floors above and below and intended joining them by a common stair, as well as

making an entry through to the west side of the Exchange from the middle floor, and other minor alterations[773]. Of the two largest Incorporations - the Masons and Wrights, and the Hammermen - the first had its hall, the formerly admired St. Mary's Chapel, demolished as part of the South Bridge Scheme, moving to an undistinguished building in Bells Wynd, the second continued in the Magdalene Chapel.

A few of the growing number of amateur associations also remained in the old royalty. In 1783, the Society of Antiquaries, a body which had just been granted a royal charter, purchased the house and ground formerly belonging to Lord Covington behind Parliament Close, one of the neat, detached, little villas of the 1730s and 40s[774]. This society, an association of radical whigs led by David Stewart Erskine, 11th Earl of Buchan, had been founded the previous year in opposition to that "junto of Jacobites and Tories who insult the best men in Scotland and determine the existence of literary societies, militias, armaments, and constitutional rights"[775]. In answer, the *Moderates* founded the Royal Society, the Philosophical Society of the 1750s under a new name and in an extended form with its strong link with the University kept intact[776], and it too received a royal charter in 1783. By the 1790s, neither of these bodies closely reflected the intentions of their founders, both were showing an increasing bias towards science, and the factionalism they once represented had died in the harsher social climate of the century's end[777]. Another offshoot of the University, the Medical Society, also had its hall within the city proper. Built in the 1780s on an area given to the Society by the Incorporation of Surgeons near its own hall, it is described as having "a plain handsome front", with a cupola on the roof "intended for an observatory, and adorned with the ensigns of the Aesculapian art"[778]. In 1788, the premises occupied by the "Royal arch Lodge", in Craig's Close, were also altered by the proprietor[779] [fig. 201].

It is difficult to imagine any clearer indication of the way society had reorganised itself since the 1740s, of the change in emphasis on what it considered important, and of what received the greatest funding from the public or the private purse, than that

which is provided by the background of the buildings just discussed. Excepting the Trustees of the Observatory, for at least the previous one or two hundred years all the other users had adapted convenient and fitting existing buildings and found no shame in doing so. Now, for some institutions, the definition of what was convenient and fitting had altered and completely new buildings of a particular form, layout, and style were thought essential. Others had been overtaken by events; their attitudes appear to have remained the same but their social and economic position had been undermined by factors outwith their control. Both the consequence of these institutions themselves, and therefore the consequence they might have given to their surroundings had diminished.

Manufactories and Work houses

As well as being abandoned by the larger institutions, the city was also losing its more successful manufactories. Though a few were still being established in Edinburgh in the 1770s and 1780s, most, like the workshop proposed on St John's Hill, Pleasance[780] [fig. 202], were built on the outskirts rather than in the city proper. One of the few within the town, on a laigh yard on the west side of the foot of Roxburgh Close, was added to the fringe of workshops and yards already filling the south edge of the Nor Loch valley[781] [fig. 203]. Like other of the more prosperous tradesmen and manufacturers, its owner, William Coulter, hosier, had moved his own household well away from the source of his income, and, in 1780, had built a house (to become known as Falcon hall) in 18 acres of ground in Canaan, Morningside[782]. (Coulter was to be provost from 1808 to 1810.)

Some proprietors continued to adapt empty and dilapidated buildings which could be bought relatively cheaply at public roup, mostly small two-storied houses. The large building converted by George Grindlay, a leather merchant in West Bow, was unusual[783] [fig. 204], and most conversions of the time were closer in size to that of

Andrew Bell's smith shop in Rae's Close[784] [fig. 205]. Rising numbers of kilns and ovens were being embedded within the fabric often of the more populated areas of town, which increased the risk of fire though the Guild Court was still enforcing safety measures. Of four petitions made for the erection of Bake houses during this period - two on the north side of the Grassmarket, one in Borthwick's Close, and one in Niddry Wynd [figs. 206, 207, 208] - one Grassmarket oven was permitted only on condition that no stacks of wood were to be kept either in the Bakehouse or the area adjacent on penalty of £100 scots, and the Niddry Street proprietor was at pains to show the court that his oven was covered by a stone arch[785].

Like small houses, small work shops were multiplying. Like the richer residents, the richer manufacturers were decreasing. The city was no longer either a centre of "society" or of trade or manufacture; only the legal, commercial, and literary establishment remained to justify its title to first city of the kingdom.

Shop Fronts

At the same time as the more fruitful sources of employment and influence declined within Scotland, the acquisition of household goods and personal possessions increased, seemingly in all ranks[786]. In line with this previously unheard of consumerism, and with a new emphasis on the appearance of status, in the 1780s, shop fronts, for the first time, became a significant element of design in themselves. Up to the 1770s, petitions affecting shops were concerned only with easing access by altering stairs, or with obtaining greater space by extending fronts to the columns or pillars supporting timber overhangs above. Although painted and projecting signs were a contentious issue, this was due to their effect on adjoining property, and not to the appearance of the signs themselves. No petitions referred to the changing of fronts for cosmetic reasons, and no new fronts showed any particular architectural or stylistic feature. In some of the larger frontland schemes, arched ground-floor windows were

fairly common; these incorporated both high and laigh shop openings and seem to have been a variation of late seventeenth-century piazzas, a continuation of the attempt to unify high street elevations, but their inclusion in warrant drawings was necessary for structural not aesthetic reasons and only outline forms and sizes were given[787]. Applicants for warrants submitted only what was thought relevant to their petition; what is shown on drawings therefore becomes not a sign of what was to be built, but a sign of what was deemed important, what the Court should know about what was to be built. When details which have no effect on structure, neighbours' rights, or the laws of building are included, it would seem to imply that these details have taken on a new previously disregarded importance.

The first warrant drawing to show shop-front details had been the West Bow design of William Smith in 1766 (see fig. 89). Smith was again at work in 1776, pulling down the timber foreshotts of a land in "great disrepair on the south side of the Cowgate near the foot of Blackfriars' wynd, then in his own peculiar blend of old and new, inserting "modern" window frames into the new plain facade, while leaving the forestair to impede the street[788] [fig. 209]. Smith's drawings were an oddity of their time, and it was not until the 1780s that shop front designs were submitted with some consistency. The first of these appeared in a petition to alter an entry on the east side of North Bridge Street in 1783; the existing glazing design was adapted to new windows of different proportions, and the new openings received a decorative surround. In the drawing for the High Street corner of 1788 (see fig. 165), the high and laigh shop openings are separated by a strong and highly decorated band of what appears to be carving. These first shop elevations were part of entirely new facades, and though the supplying of such detail is novel, the shops themselves would be expected to conform to the over-all aesthetic. When, in 1784, the baker's shop in a timber land (refronted in the seventeenth century) by Riddle's Close was extended to the front line of the tenement, the fact that its warrant drawing showed not just the plan, as was usual, but details of the new doors and a window was much more

significant [fig. 210]. The proposed shop front, a variation of the North Bridge precedent, bore no relation to the proportions and form of the rest of the building, so was a specific piece of design in itself. In the opinion of the Town's inspectors, Alexander Laing, Robert Burn, and Alexander Reid, "the proposed alterations ...may be executed with perfect safety to all concerned - And will when complete be not only an Improvement on the Subject in general but a decoration to the High Street"[789]. However great an "Improvement", aesthetics, with the exception of the proportion of piazzas, had up till then not been a concern of the laws of "good neighbourhood"; the owner was putting particular and previously unnecessary emphasis on the appearance of the new design.

From this time on, detailed drawings of frontages appeared with increasing frequency. A thinner section of astragal and the interlaced pattern at arch-heads, became commonplace. Bow windows were also popular, like those used in Mrs. Chalmers' little toofall shop off Candlemaker Row of 1786 (fig.188), and in the extended front of William Armstrong's shop in the Grassmarket of 1787[790] [figs. 211, 212]. While these were fairly simple designs, some were both sophisticated and elaborate - a contrast to the plainness of the main shell - as in the new front attached to two former stables in 1787[791], the Covenant Close frontland in 1790, and Peacock's Land in 1793 [figs. 213, 214].

Shops in the late eighteenth century were still situated not only at street level, but also in any of the upper storeys. To attract and direct customers, signs, either on the elevation or at the entry to the common stair, were just as essential on new buildings as on old. To residents who had moved away, as they thought, from the inelegancies of life in more traditional neighbourhoods, this practice was particularly irritating. In 1783, the Misses Nicolson and Mr. Allan McConachie, advocate, the proprietors and possessor of a house in the two uppermost storeys of a tenement in St. David's Street, protested that the

> "common entry was never intended to be appropriated to the exclusive use of any one of the subjects to which it leads ... on the contrary [it was] meant to afford a decent genteel access to all of them in particular to the Dwelling houses in the stair which are worth above £80 sterling rent per annum"

It should not, they complained, be disfigured with signpost or painting "or any of these symbols with which shopkeepers choose to attract the attention of passengers"[792]. With this, the court agreed, and the habitmaker who worked in the backroom of one of the two ground floor shops was ordered to remove his symbol immediately. In 1789, a more complicated case arose on the east side of Blair Street where the complainant had taken a large shop and warehouse which was entered not only directly off Blair Street itself, but also by a stair from Bridge Street. Both he and the possessor of the tavern above were "allowed to paint their names and a note intimating in what story the Warehouse and Tavern were situated upon the sides of the entry to the stair from Bridge Street and on the Arch over the entry". This had been "Blackened over and obliterated" by a bookseller, new tenant at the south side of the entry to the stair, who then threatened "to substitute his own name and the insignia of his business"[793]. The offender was ordered to repaint the sign at his own cost.

From the examples which have been given, it appears that the period between 1776 and 1790 witnessed the rise of the formal commercial frontage, not just in new schemes where it could have been merely a sign of stylistic consistency, but also in older, asymmetrical, blocks. Shops were being restyled not to add space within the interior nor to advertise what was being sold - like the painted loaves of bread which were advancing over the Cowgate tenement the 1760s. These were alterations solely for the purpose of matching the appearance of newly erected buildings. In carrying out such non-utilitarian, expensive, merely decorative works to such a socially insignificant structure as a shop, the owners were expressing a significant change in what was seen as acceptable behaviour from the society which had loudly disapproved of the pretensions of institutions as large as the Infirmary, as wealthy as the Royal Bank, and

as exclusive as the Riding School. More momentously, it would appear that the tendency of those above a certain status to occupy property almost exclusively of one particular style, was sufficiently widely recognised to allow the style itself to be used to indicate status, to imply a certain quality in owners, and in the case of shops, in goods, whether this was or was not the case. Only the assumption that the outward appearance of the shop was being read by customers as a sign of the excellence of the merchandise inside would explain shop-owners' considerable expenditure from the 1770s onwards for purely cosmetic reasons. This trend was not unnoticed, and, for those who adhered to the previous more direct discernment of quality, "it were a better world when there were more bottles and fewer glasses"[794].

In 1779, an even greater challenge to old habits was launched by the erection of a counting-house for Sir William Forbes, James Hunter Blair and Company, which was extended five years later[795] [fig. 215]. Most previous offices and shops had been fitted into existing buildings, those built new were small, shed-like structures. The more important offices, the Excise, the Customs, the Bank of Scotland, the British Linen Company, the Ajr Bank, had all leased large, expensively finished, former residences of the aristocracy, and even the Royal Bank had merely refronted its office in Fishmarket Close. Forbes' new counting-house was a large, expensive, formally designed structure sited on an area of major public importance, at the back of Parliament house. It was the first example of a new building type, private commercial premises on which was lavished a similar degree of care as on either public buildings or the residences of gentry. It is logical that a commercial society would find it necessary to re-order its hierarchy on a financial as opposed to familial basis. The design of Forbes bank would seem to indicate that this major reversal in the according of status had indeed taken place, and the first physical recognition of the infinitely improved position and influence of commerce within the organisation of society had been awarded.

Now that the suburbs were filling rapidly, there is evidence of a gradual decay of long established inns and stables as their most affluent clients left for more convenient hostelries to the north and south of the city. This drift can be seen in the progress of John Dumbreck, a vintner, who first took over a new inn, the King's Head, established at the end of the north bridge. He then moved, in 1788, to a larger establishment - James Boyd's White horse Inn, in St Mary's Wynd. As advertised to let in 1779, this contained;

> "two dining-rooms, a small outer room or parlour, 13 bedrooms and closets, besides servants' bedrooms, a small writing-closet, a convenient large kitchen and larder, wine cellar with catacombs, coal and ale cellars; together with stables for upwards of 50 horses wherein are 40 stalls; as also backyard, pump well and coach-house, which will contain four or five carriages, and a convenient poultry house and other offices. The loft above the stables will hold between two and three thousand stone of hay, and there is an excellent corn loft..."[796]

After only a few years at the White Horse which like the rest of St. Mary's Wynd had begun its social and physical decline, in 1790, Dumbreck joined the owner of Dun's Hotel, at the south-east corner of St Andrew's Square. This was a new type of hostelry, where dancing assemblies and other genteel entertainment had been provided since 1777.

Dumbreck was followed on his first two moves by Duncan McFarlane who, from 1785 to 1788, had been the tenant of the Red Lyon, an inn at the Cowgate Port. This large inn, with 18 apartments, a large dining-room, four parlours, and bedrooms and bed-closets, had stabling for fifty horses, and storage for about 4,000 stones of hay[797]. Only five years before McFarlane's tenancy, it had been in serious condition:

"the stables on the north and east side of the Close or Court ..are in such a ruinous situation, owing to the walls being originally built with Clay and Stone and the Roof and Joisting being executed with small round trees, and the Floors being very much exhausted, and the Tyles mostly wasted through length of time, that the said Stables are incapable of any repair"[798].

At this period of transition, it must have been difficult for many to understand just how completely the long-held status of neighbourhoods had been overturned (in principle if more slowly in effect). In the Canongate, James Clark, "Farrier to His Majesty", as a counter to the attractions provided by Dun's Hotel in St. Andrew's Square, had opened a rival hotel in 1781, "for the reception of the nobility and gentry" in Chessels Buildings. In the 1770s, this had been one of the more popular areas for professionals and minor gentry in flight from the centre of town, but by the 1780s, as the burgesses had foreseen in their opposition to extending the royalty, its short-lived social revival was already in decline, and by 1783, Clark's Hotel was advertised to be let. At the southern edge of the city proper, the descent was slower. James Ferrier, owner of the George Inn, at Bristo Port[799], built even more stables and hay lofts on a small area at the back of his court in 1776[800] [fig. 216] and by 1779, when his tenant Cockburn retired, the inn was advertised as having eighteen rooms, besides garrets, servants' accommodation, cellarage, and stabling for fifty horses, with shades for seven carriages.

Coachmakers, who had had some extraordinarily prosperous years in the 1760s, continued just as prosperously throughout the 70s and 80s, and moved quickly up the new hierarchy to become notables in Edinburgh's commercial society. John Home left St Mary's Wynd to establish the firm of Home, Cleghorn, and Wilson, at 3 Princes Street. Both his daughters married Dublin men, Agnes to James Cleghorn MD, and Margaret to Isaac Weld, an explorer and topographer[801]. Alexander Crichton survived near bankruptcy after the Ayr Bank crash partly due to his father's holdings of land on the south side. His son Patrick, his partner in the coach-making trade, became a

Colonel of the Edinburgh Volunteers, and City Treasurer from 1795 to 1796, and his son Alexander became physician to Czar Alexander, and the eventual holder of a Russian knighthood[802].

Summary

> "Mr. Muir might have known that *no attention* could be paid (by parliament) to such a rabble (the petitioners for reform). *What right had they to representation?* He could have told them that the parliament would never *listen* to their petition. How could they think of it? *A Government in every country should be just like a corporation; and, in this country, it is made up of the landed interest,* WHICH ALONE HAS A RIGHT TO BE REPRESENTED. As for the rabble, who have nothing but personal property, *what hold has the nation on them?* What security for the payment of their taxes? They may pack up all their property on their backs, and leave the country in a twinkling of an eye. But landed property cannot be removed." (original emphasis)[803]

Property, that key to social order, had undergone a significant change of ownership during the late 1770s and 1780s, and its possession, from large estates to tiny houses, became an achievable goal for much larger numbers of the population. Outwith the town, large tracts of ground had been acquired by merchant barons: in the County of Roxburgh for instance, Somerville observes that not less than two-thirds of landed property had been transferred by sale to new proprietors within the fifty years before 1800[804]. Skirting Edinburgh itself, the sub-division of larger estates like the lands of Newington, High Riggs, Broughton, and of course, of Lady Nicholson had already occurred, and within the centre, the extensive gardens of the nobility, and even the small areas and yards of the merchants, were just beginning to fill with work houses, stables, and small dwellings.

For the poorer of the inhabitants, as Smith had forecast, this led, for almost the next forty years, to a significant improvement in their housing:

"As far as happiness depends upon external accommodation and appliances, all classes of the community ought to be happier now than they were in my early life. The poor especially are better fed, better clothed, and better lodged."[805]

Still as far as ever from having a say in the organisation of society, they were at least becoming a force to be reckoned with, and the prospect of another, less impotent future was temporarily opened before them. For the next financial class - the least prosperous, least influential aspirers to the new hierarchy - a means of distinguishing themselves from their neighbours had been found by residence in the north suburb. There the pretence at having property could be maintained by appearance and association with those who did. For these, the richer and more influential of a yet higher class, maintaining their constantly eroded differential would soon be temporarily solved by Robert Adam's design for Charlotte Square (1792-1820), the first of the formal housing schemes to reach an architectural quality similar to (and in some cases easily surpassing) the villas of the nobility. With this notable exception, in general the design of the north suburb was outmoded in the eyes of wider arbiters of taste well before its completion. Having established the segregation of class by area and architectural status, this lack of elegance together with the influx of merchants, bankers, tradesmen, and professionals, ensured that the new suburbs almost instantaneously became inadequate to meet the requirements of the leaders of the social and financial world, and that a new situation would soon have to be found for their dwellings outwith the boundaries of the extended regality.

As with all forms of apartheid, racial, social, or financial, such immediate physical improvement as there was in the living conditions of the weaker section was accompanied by a growing tendency to regard them as lesser beings, not just socially but also morally and intellectually. There was, it has been said, an unwillingness to accept destitution as a result of trade fluctuations and not of personal behaviour, and in the view of "a citizen" published in the Glasgow Polity of 1785, those receiving

public assistance should descend at least one step below the station held in health and industry[806]. Such opinions were exacerbated by the great alteration in the demographic make-up of the country. Where not many years before the city's inhabitants would have stood a good chance of recognising (though not necessarily of acknowledging) each other in the street, the influx of strangers made this impossible in any other than the more stable middle ranks. Not only was the care of the town's poor directly affected - by a loss of income and humanity - but the views held on the lesser financial classes' life and morals - no longer part of personal experience - was coloured by prejudice and fear.

For both the physical and social condition of Edinburgh itself, the changing nature of proprietors was just as significant as the division of property. Almost none of the main landlords now lived in or near their buildings in the city proper, so their interest became purely financial. With their newly limited concern for the condition of the fabric, the self-regulation of "good neighbourhood" began to collapse and the standard of maintenance was undermined as the proportion of transient inhabitants increased, and the social and therefore financial value of their property gradually decreased.

By the end of the century, the remaining status of the city proper was concentrated in the restyled Georgian High Street near the great civic institutions and in the Bridges, while the rest, including the Canongate, was by-passed socially. Buildings along the Cowgate and some wynds rose in height, and gradually more and more small houses and workshops were erected in back lands. With less gardens and yards, less light, air, and privacy, less maintenance, and the minimum of social mix, there came a slow but steady degradation in the character of the city.

As living conditions in the city of Edinburgh were slowly eroded, they suffered in direct proportion to the sentimental and antiquarian regard in which the buildings were held. This very decline - still at the time more social than physical - became, by the nineteenth century, a factor to be relished;

> "The contemplation of change is at once melancholy and gratifying, - melancholy if we look upon the mansions of the Nobility left to the possession of mechanics, and gratifying if we consider the prosperity of our country, which has produced or at least accompanied the change."[807]

From the safe distance of an age which had never experienced its effect, feudalism and all it implied, two generations after its death throes, was viewed with nostalgia. By the turn of the century, even those who had first profited from its downfall, the followers of the new hierarchy - the remnants of Robertson's circle - were themselves translated into gothic ruins;

> "The subjects of their conversation might be compared to that held by ghosts, who, sitting on their midnight tombs, talk over the deeds they have done and witnessed while in the body. The *forty-five* was a remarkable epoch, and called forth remarks and anecdotes without number."[808]

Whilst the phenomenon of antiquarianism in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century is a question of immense interest far beyond the scope of this work, it is relevant to note that the mania for the past was directed, it could be argued, only at what might be called its decorative not its functional qualities: manners, habits, charters, deeds, all feudal memorabilia were taken from their context by their eager collectors and ensconced in modern housing, their integrity as evidence was undermined, and all were irrevocably detached from any direct part they might have to play in the rational analysis of the current time. The second most influential, and second most quoted view of the pre nineteenth-century city after the *Proposals* themselves - Robert Chambers' *Traditions of Edinburgh* (1825)[809] - clearly reflected the effect of such an antiquarian perspective on the author's perception of the town. All parts of his collection of anecdotes of late eighteenth-century social life, brief architectural descriptions, and some more highly coloured antiquarian gleanings, were

presented as equally quaint - whether three centuries old or only three decades - and equally detached from contemporary realities. Here, the role of History was to amuse and titillate, to be patronised or passionately admired, but not to be taken seriously in its own right. Evidence of Chambers' exclusion of past events from the measured consideration he might have given to contemporary events is not hard to find. In the introduction, he laments the fate of the "ancient part of the metropolis", where "infamy and wickedness succeed to the abodes of piety and virtue", then proceeds in the main text to regale the reader with a catalogue of past cruelty, lunacy, treachery, and murder[810]. Only if the more disgusting deeds of history were seen as cleansed by age alone could incongruity be avoided. Turned into legend, set apart from reality, tales of atrocity could then be relished without moral qualms. This more determinedly irrational and voyeuristic aspect of nineteenth-century sentiment found its apogee in Chambers's mentor[811], Charles Kilpatrick Sharpe, the main source of late eighteenth-century society gossip which peppers the *Traditions*[812]. Sharpe's well-known complaint - "that one never heard of any gentlefolks committing crimes now a days" (as if, said Chambers admiringly, "that were a disadvantage to them or the public") - can be compared to the robustly reasonable view of 1760s man - that,

> "Greatly as the degeneracy of the present age may be talked of, or highly soever as we may imagine the People of ancient times to surpass us, either in morality or understanding, I am nevertheless perfectly satisfied that there is as much good sense, and as much real virtue to be met with in our own days, as ever were found in the days of our forefathers, notwithstanding the meritorious cobwebs of antiquity have happily concealed a number of their follies and their faults, and thrown a friendly veil of oblivion over no inconsiderable share of their imperfections"[813].

The third son of a man of the minor gentry, Sharpe acted out his own image of departed might; he was, by Chamber's own (later) words, "intensely aristocratic, ...[and] cared nothing for the interests of the great multitude"[814]. Deeply ignorant of

all outwith their circle, the middle ranks had mythologised the character and habits of the highest just as much as the lowest. The nobility - whose physical proximity had been familiar and unremarkable in the 1740s - were, by the early years of the nineteenth century, as far removed from their sphere as were the lives of the now almost totally segregated possessors of a less than respectable income. To men of Sharpe's class, themselves dependant on a rigid code of manners to maintain their fragile status, the seemingly informal way of life of past "old town" residents was as alien as the habits of the present poor. From their bulwarks of externalised propriety in the "New Town", it seemed incredible that the daughters of duchesses would ride pigs, and that an earl could live next to a baker. There was an almost complete incomprehension of the intrinsic and invulnerable nature of feudal status and its lack of dependence on outward show.

Based on this incomprehension, it was the delicious shock of contrasts in rank which caught Chambers' attention in the first edition; that "porters and chairmen occupy the lordly tenements once honoured by the residence of nobles and princes". Social not physical decline was at issue, for in the 1820s, only minor dilapidation had taken place; many buildings were new, and most were still sound, still inhabited by "respectable" citizens as he himself remarks.

Despite the soundness of the general fabric, no antiquarian however obsessed would have dreamt of living in the sixteenth-century Edinburgh building whose history he so assiduously unearthed. The death, in 1820, of both the last "gentlemen" residents "of fortune and figure" - James Ferguson M.P. for Aberdeenshire and his brother George, Governor of Grenada[815] - left the city proper to its fate as a social outcast. In an era increasingly obsessed by propriety and the fear of social failure, they were the last inhabitants sufficiently secure in social esteem to "felicitate themselves upon the comforts of the Luckenbooths, and laugh at the prospect of newer and more airy mansions." Even for men of such position, their behaviour needed the excuse of eccentricity to be acceptably explained; "None of their humours were so strange, as

their pertinacity in clinging to this old-fashioned mansion". Just as acceptance into the ranks of polite Edinburgh society was achieved by the younger generation only with possession of a new-styled house in a new area, social failure was guaranteed by possession of an old house in the old city. Life outwith the middle-class conventions was by implication a rejection of their values. By such reasoning the decline of the centre, where such conventions were almost impossible to maintain, was a foregone conclusion as, through social pressure none but the unconventional, and therefore suspect, or those with no choice would live there regardless of the elegance, size and condition of the accomodation. The transference of the idea of perfection from the character to the equipage appears to have been completed, and the discernment of merit could be said to have been abandoned.

CHAPTER 7.

Conclusion

The Reality of Inconvenience

In the course of this work, all of the assumptions made in the preliminary hypothesis have received some degree of support from contemporary eighteenth-century texts, and none has a weight of detailed evidence against it. The whole country (and town) immediately post-1746 could be said to have undergone a drastic change in the order of its society. Whilst the status of the aristocracy was being undermined by the eradication of the legal basis of feudal power, commerce rapidly gained enough momentum to allow financial power to begin, for the first time, to make a significant improvement in the status of some of those within the lower ranks. The rigid, familial, feudal hierarchy began to break, and its broad centre was reassembled in a more monetarily based system. The perception of this change appears to have worked its way slowly through the ranks from the most powerful downwards - the effects on one group or order affecting the next in turn.

The town in 1746 does appear to have had characteristics which strongly reflected the old organisation, and there is evidence to suggest that these characteristics acted against the effective functioning of the new organisation. There is equal evidence to suggest that the new suburbs had characteristics which were specific to the re-ordering of society, but that they also continued some of the old physical characteristics of which the loudest complaints had been made. The proposition that the views expressed by the particular section of society which demanded a new environment and implicitly advocated the old fabric's abandonment, may have been inspired less by its physical deficiencies, and more by the antipathy aroused by the social order which it

imposed on its inhabitants together with the discouragement it gave to the effective functioning of an alternative social order, can thus be substantiated.

Such an argument has direct relevance for architectural conservationists. The conservation of the built environment has, up till now, depended almost solely on the treatment of the results of neglect or redundancy rather than the prevention of their cause. For this reason, work within the field has concentrated on the tangible - the action which needs to be taken when a single building or a settlement is in need of conservation - and has included the pursuit of a deeper understanding of physical decay, the revival of traditional construction methods, the more thorough investigation of historical backgrounds, and the keeping of more consistent and extensive archival records. Training at all levels, from crafts to consultancy, is becoming more professional, and the availability and range of natural building materials is slowly improving. Whilst all these actions ensure that architectural conservation is being carried out more proficiently, none decrease the need for conservation in the first place. It could be argued that a deeper understanding of the social processes involved in what is often a wholesale disregard of old buildings is just as necessary.

Unless a building has an integral structural or constructional defect, there is no physical reason why it should not continue to be used and re-used to the end of the life of the materials of which it is constructed. There are, however, innumerable non-physical reasons, the most obvious of which are convenience, profit, and taste, all being quantified solely by the attitudes which different organisations of society encourage in their members. Unless a greater understanding of the means by which particular environments are valued, denigrated, or disregarded is achieved and used for their protection, not only will the number in need of conservation continue to rise, but the conservation skill available to save them will in many cases remain unused, and in even more cases be unwanted.

The first and main aim of this work was the provision of information on a missing segment of Edinburgh's architectural history. From the evidence of the unpublished

primary sources on which it is based, a new picture of the city has emerged, not wholly in accord with the image of "congested, narrow closes and ... lofty, crowded, often dilapidated tenements with ... dark and dirty common stairs ...within the walls [of a] city ... so choked with houses that there was no room to build"[816]. The comparison of the city proper to its new suburbs was less simple than that suggested either by the writer of the *Proposals* or by Robert Chambers. In common with the writer of the *Proposals*, it was not in Chambers' interest, never his intent, to regard the city proper in a rational, impartial light. For this reason alone, the unsceptical use of some more colourful quotes from both as sole source at second, third, and even fourth-hand in the vast quantity of print produced over the past century, have produced an unbalanced picture which by sheer weight of repetition appears to have has gained acceptance. What were understandable contemporary partialities have been turned into truisms - the "towering tenements" familiar to every Scottish school-child, the "living community" where earl passed the time of day with scaffenger in many an after-dinner speech - and deep misconceptions on the formation and form of one of Scotland's major cities during a crucial period of its evolution have arisen.

For those wishing to conserve the area today, whether by repairing existing buildings, or by directing the design and positioning of new additions, new data has been provided and some fruitful areas of research beyond the scope of this present work have been indicated - particularly what remains to be gained from accounts - on materials and their use, on colour, and on form (see Appendix II). This was the work's second aim. The more factual information on the history of Scotland's built environment which can be made readily available, the more chance there is of its lesser known historical characteristics being saved and protected, and the less chance of what remains being distorted, tampered with, or even totally destroyed. The most recent guidance from I.C.O.M.O.S., the international organisation for the protection of monuments, ensembles, and sites states that conservation work should be undertaken only after the "cultural, technological, and social history of the heritage resource,

including its changing significance with respect to its social and physical context" has been fully researched, and that "the values of the heritage resource should be defined ..."[817]. Under such guidelines, the foundation of Conservation work lies in the making of a qualitative judgment, based on a reasoned and impartial recognition of the factors which make the fabric sufficiently valuable to both present and future societies to retain and protect, at sometimes considerable expense. Given that a certain degree of change, however minimal, is inevitable, this, in turn, implies a weighing of gain and loss. The resultant action - causing the least damage to these qualities held within the fabric and the greatest gain to their continuance - thus rests in an understanding of the fabric's substantiated social, technological, and aesthetic, history up to and including its present condition. If the conception of its past existence is ill-founded and therefore misconceived, the perception of the qualities in what remains is likely to be erroneous. If the analysis of value is erroneous, the degree and type of protection given, the degree and type of change allowed, are unlikely to be effective in ensuring the retention of a value formed by qualities which cannot be recognised due to the paucity of verified data and the excess of unverified data.

Having provided some verifiable data, pointed to the existence of other, and laid grounds for questioning the accepted view of the old city, the third aim has been to aid the understanding of the essence of what survives from the period, so that the area's continuing evolution can act with rather than against the remnants of its unique quality. A basis for such an understanding was offered in the preceding analysis of the city's social, technological, and aesthetic history during a time of rapid change. In Chapter Two, it was argued that the essential purpose and the basis of the pre-1746 city's character was its introverted and defensive nature: that it was a contained area with a defined and defended perimeter; that it was designed to protect the advantage held by those within its walls, an advantage which was economic, social, and physical; that it was designed to discourage outsiders and to control their movement within the walls; that it gave little opportunity for outward display and none for the physical

separation of the inhabitants into groups, either for purposes of social segregation or for their control by outside forces.

From the evidence provided, the old city as a whole could be described as organic - not in the sense of unplanned evolution, but as a reflection of growth in nature. Within the discipline of tofts' original boundaries and the clear social restraints of "good neighbourhood", the town evolved as a response to direct and immediate social and physical needs, and allowed minor variations caused by localised external stimuli within a simple, tightly structured, overall pattern [fig. 217]. Despite appearances, this pattern was not linear but, in principle, concentric [fig. 218], though its northern growth was stunted by the loch. Its core - the High Street - was an elongated, hard edged, rectangle. Moving away from either side of the High Street, the land attached to each property increased along the individual strip, reaching a high proportion of open ground - yards or gardens - to a very small proportion of houses. At the rim of the city, the greatest and least of the inhabitants, choosing or being forced to keep distant from their fellows, formed their own very disparate settlement. As the population expanded and the boundary moved outwards, the old edge gradually took on the characteristics of the High Street, and towards the newly hardened rim another area with a high proportion of open ground to a very small proportion of houses was formed. Between each ring of growth a certain amount of open land remained.

It was also argued that the particularity of the city's physical character rested in the way in which this introverted and defensive nature took form upon a unique topography and land division, resulting in the following consistent features:

1. <u>space in general</u>

   a] the form of the city and its major civic structures (and only its major civic structures) could be seen from a great distance,

   b] within the bounds, each area was visually complete in itself, with extremely restricted views of its neighbours and no formal vistas,

   c] major buildings had no formal approach from a distance, only the

emphasis of partially enclosed clear areas around them,

d] there was a minute grading of privacy in external space from street, to close, to court, with subtle levels of interaction between the individual's territory (courts and closes), and that of society (streets and wynds),

e] thus an intricate concealed network of private spaces lay within an obvious, visible public layout.

2. private space

a] maximum advantage was taken of the steepness of sites, for privacy and access,

b] in many buildings, every level up to the third floor led directly on to its own outside space on different sides of a structural block,

b] any or all sides could have one or more than one front doors and therefore had equal importance,

c] there was a variety of different entrances from different closes,

d] nearly all frontlands had courts behind, a few had gardens; nearly all backlands had courts and gardens, some extensive in area.

3. use

a] there was a three-dimensional mixture of social ranks and uses (but almost all had separate entrances),

b] no area was exclusively residential or commercial, though each had a discernable bias to a particular trade, and to a particular quality of residences, seemingly based on proximity to ports (trade), and castle and palace (residences). This would appear to have led to a particular and consistent physical form in certain areas, which can be generally described as follows:

i] the High Street was both market street and public face, with uniformity attempted but never quite achieved, and its edges

acted as a wall between public and private space. With almost no complete vertical breaks in its facade (entrance through greater and smaller pends), the impact of the openings of West Bow, Parliament Close, and the later bridges was heightened. It was primarily a place of trade, busy, noisy, sometimes smelly, and full of colour.

ii] the Cowgate was less populous, its buildings were generally low, some turned away from the noisy, dirty, street round courts with gardens behind to prevent overshadowing and secure privacy.

iii] the Canongate's character was more of a village than a town, with a small population, little development, and large gardens, yards, or areas, behind a minor version of the city's high street front.

iv] the Grassmarket was the most open, least introverted area within the city walls, a very noisy, busy, meeting place for travellers containing inns, stables, markets, all low buildings with large gardens, yards, and areas behind.

Within the clear organic discipline of the city's underlying form and growth, almost infinite variation of its individual solid parts appeared to be allowed within the more detailed limits of "good neighbourhood" (set by a level established by encroachments on neighbours' rights to light, view, to the structural stability of their adjacent properties, and to access). Height and size ranged enormously, width to a much lesser extent. There was little overall consistency in style, and it would appear that the framework, because of its intrinsically organic nature, could accept either formal or informal buildings with equal facility as long as the underlying discipline was observed. It could also accept a wide range of materials: stone (rubble or ashlar) timber, call and clay for walls; slate, tile, lead, thatch, for roofs. Despite their

differences, all were linked by the subtle variety of tone and texture found in natural materials, and by their ability to age aesthetically (ie, acquire patina). Despite the austerity of many facades, there was a richness of external detail, mostly concentrated at doorways and wall-heads; there also appears to have been an almost gaudiness of colour, with rubblework harled, and shop-signs running rampant over facades. Their common denominator, in effect, was their very lack of consistency, their individuality, for private dwellings their obscurity of entrance, and for all the enforced observance of good neighbourhood.

The quality of the town in 1746 rested in its strong and effective interpretation of the mediaeval European urban framework on a particularly individual site. It provided its citizens with a comparatively safe, comfortable, and convenient environment, given that the community was finite, interconnected, and self-regulating. It allowed a close integration of pomp, trade, and domesticity, of busy, noisy, interesting, and entertaining public areas, and peaceful, private garden grounds. In many respects, it may be said to touch the classical ideal, where the individual benefits from the community, and the community benefits from the flourishing of its individual members in its protective environment. Finally, as the populace made very clear at the time, the fabric held the memory of some centuries of national and local events, of crucial significance to the identity of both the greater and lesser community.

The post-46 alterations of the eighteenth century drastically affected the introverted and defensive nature of the settlement, but had a remarkably slight effect on the overall framework. Though the walls and ports were demolished, it remained a contained area with a perimeter defined if not defended by the topography; that is, the Nor' loch valley, the castle hill, the Calton hill, the King's park, and the grounds of Heriot's and Greyfriars. Only the centre of the south edge after the wall was demolished was made vulnerable to encroachments. Even stripped of its walls and monopolies, the city's form continued to discourage outsiders and to control their movement within its limits, and give little opportunity for outward display. The

physical separation of the inhabitants into groups remained impossible, but was no longer relevant since self-segregation by social status had taken place and only those without the means to leave remained. As the nineteenth-century police force could testify, the framework still obstructed control of the population by outside force. While the quality of the town as a strong and effective interpretation of the mediaeval European urban framework on a particularly individual site stayed virtually intact, the social quality of the 1746 city had almost disappeared. Its inhabitants were now amongst the least regarded of the citizenry, the environment was less safe, and less comfortable, the activities were considerably less varied, and peaceful, private garden grounds had almost disappeared.

While the form of the city from a distance showed little change, on closer inspection this was not the case. The removal of "obstructions" opened the length of the High Street, and the view of the High Kirk was no longer restricted. Despite this, the projecting facade of the "John Knox" house maintained, roughly, the Netherbow break, Bridge Street the break at the Guard house, and to a certain extent the nineteenth-century intrusion of Johnson Terrace has continued the psychological if not visual separation of Castlehill, formerly carried out by the Weigh-house. The minute grading of privacy in external space from street, to close, to court, suffered a much greater erosion as sites were flattened to build larger, simpler, blocks with only one entrance level, and smaller private spaces were almost completely eradicated. (In contrast, on the flatter site of Canongate, from the precedent of Milton's house, Young's Street, Charteris' Street, Lothian house, Callender's house, etc., depending on the High Street link, single, formal, buildings of quality and even single streets could be inserted on more open sites with no damage to the framework.) Finally, the cultural quality, the fabric's significance to the national and civic identity remained intact, not yet affected by the sentimental disregard of authenticity.

Even if the quality of the original fabric, and its essential characteristics, are qualitatively assessed on a more substantiated and less partial basis than has

previously been the case, then the question of what remains of value in the late twentieth-century remnants of this mediaeval area has still to be faced. By the 1840s, the lives of the inhabitants had become intolerably wretched, and from 1860 onwards, a range of partially compassionate and partially self-protective measures were taken to clear the town of its worst ills. Public attitudes to buildings and to their current inhabitants seemed then and still seem now to be indivisible. The way of life of the most degraded inhabitants - the "dangerous classes" - was seen as a source of physical and moral pollution, but the answer of both the Council and the many philanthropic bodies was not to improve their lot but to destroy their "nests", and replace them by new and improved dwellings for the less threatening members of the industrious poor. Enormous numbers of buildings were demolished, once more appearing to pay for the repugnance and fear in which the way of life of their inhabitants was held. These actions merely moved the great numbers who could only afford the worst accommodation into even fewer buildings in even worse conditions, which, some years later were in turn demolished, and this action continued up to the 1960s by which time almost all of both the population and the older buildings had been removed.

Of the city proper, as it stood two hundred years ago, of its own old and new buildings of the time, at a generous estimate only between ten and twenty are left, all in a considerably altered state. All the rest - approximately six to seven hundred separate building blocks - have been replaced, most in the last half of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century. Few of even the many eighteenth-century buildings mentioned in the course of this thesis have been heard of and even fewer still exist. Brown Square, Argyle Square, Alison's Square and Adam's Court have gone; Dr Young's new street, Charteris' street, and most of Merchant Street have gone; Minto house, Ross house, the Duke of Douglas's house, the Marquis of Lothian's house, Lord Covington's house, and almost all of Lord Milton's house have gone; the Infirmary, the Charity Workhouse, the Orphan Hospital, and the Bridewell have gone; the Riding School, the Theatre Royal, Archers' hall, the Bell's Wynd and the George Square

Assembly rooms have gone; Merchant Maidens', Trades Maidens', and Watson's Hospitals have gone; the Old Bank, the New Bank, and Forbes Bank have gone; the upper Bow, High School Yards, Potterrow, Bristo, Portsburgh, and too many wynds and closes to mention, with all their buildings, have gone.

From this brief depressing list, the conclusion might seem obvious; that almost nothing remains of the mediaeval city; that the fabric is neither mediaeval nor even Georgian; that its significance therefore must lie in the overwhelmingly predominant nineteenth and twentieth-century developments, no better, no worse, no more or less interesting than the very many others of their type. But on the basis of the evidence presented in this work, this is plainly not the case. The predominant quality of the city has never lain in its individual buildings. It was and is the form itself - that strong and effective interpretation of the mediaeval European urban framework on a particularly interesting site of aesthetic, environmental, and cultural value - which sets Edinburgh apart from other settlements. Instinctively, each traveller has focused on the site, on the rites of passage down wynds and closes, into courts, up stairs; on the disconcerting changes of level, the confusion of entrances; on the warmth and shelter of the core juxtaposed to superb views over the surrounding countryside. And to an astonishing extent, this, more than any of its parts, not only still remains but is still remarkably similar to its eighteenth-century, and even pre eighteenth-century self. No other city of equivalent importance in any of the United Kingdoms has retained its mediaeval core to such a degree. While the parts have changed, the whole has hung doggedly on to the present day, giving a large part of the city's character, and the only entitlement to the much played on, tourist-attracting title of "old town". Far surpassing the fabric - in cultural, historical, aesthetic and social scales of value - the old framework, has has not only continued into the present day, but has now been overlaid by the additional qualities of even greater age, and even more exceptional rarity. Perversely, the northern suburb which helped to cause the original city's social downfall has heightened the aesthetic quality of its predecessor's cultural value, by the very contrast

between the the organicism of the one and the formality of the other - itself an only slightly less rare survival. The framework is a unique remnant of the past, a distinctive environment, and even - at its lowest level - now the source of considerable revenue for the city.

The maintenance of an urban framework is a more difficult concept than the simple pointing, roof repairs, and sympathetic re-use of a single building. Its successful conservation rests in the preservation of the last physical traces - toft lines, courts, pends, and closes; the encouragement of the principle of its use of space in new design - three-dimensional access, etc; and above all in an acknowledgement of its underlying purpose, in this case its essentially defensive function of protecting an introverted community. The same advantage exists for contemporary inhabitants as existed for their mediaeval counterparts - the offer of a quiet, secure, and individual environment, with outdoor space and privacy, just off the centre of civic life and trade. While schemes like Tron Square, the city's first attempt at social housing, and Ramsay Gardens, the more extravagantly funded child of the extraordinary Patrick Geddes, both of the 1890s, and both in their own ways remarkable designs [fig. 219], took traditional advantage of the steepness of their sites for privacy and access, the twentieth century has been less discerning. Spaces left between the various buildings of the Moray house development of the 1960s and 70s, though plentiful lack purpose; similarly it would be difficult to find a more defeated court than that contained in the 1968 Lothian Regional Council Headquarters on the north-western corner of George IV Bridge [fig. 220]. Within the last few years the recently completed Scandic hotel has swallowed all the ground between Niddry and Blackfriars Street, from High Street almost to the Cowgate, (despite its coyly irregular front facade) in one immense and monolithic structure [fig. 221]. It has obliterated any possibility of a contemporary contribution to the intricate concealed network of private spaces behind the public layout, and nullified the specific character of one of the most central areas of town. That the character of other major areas, however deteriorated, is still discernable is a

tribute to the intransigence and strength of the topography, still an economic limit to architectural totalitarianism, and to the original pragmatic logic of the framework's form and function. The city's high street is as commercial, as noisy, and almost as busy as ever, though considerably less colourful than in the eighteenth century. The wall of its frontage is virtually intact, though the privacy it protects, still gained through pends, is little used. The character of Canongate is still discernably quieter, though the hungry rubble fronts of 1930s, 50s, and 60s ground floor shops have dulled the hard face of its high street. Behind the frontlands some large gardens, yards, or areas, still remain, and the Mushroom garden in Dunbar's Close is a welcome contemporary addition [fig. 222]. The Grassmarket is still open, though since rarely put to its full use, less noisy and busy except at the height of the tourist season. No inns remain, and its particular interest in travellers has been lost. With Heriots and Greyfriars to the south and the castle rock to the north, while its large gardens, yards, and areas have almost all been lost, the illusion of open-ness is kept [fig. 223]. Only the Cowgate would be unrecognisable to its 1740s inhabitant. From the 1770s onwards, buildings have continued to rise, privacy and sunlight have been eliminated, and the environment it provides has been made all but uninhabitable [fig. 214]. However unpleasant its condition, the Cowgate has retained its form, and still plays its major part in keeping the balance of the early framework, whereas Bristo and Potterrow, the vulnerable southern outskirts, have been totally obliterated by the developments of Edinburgh University in the 1960s and 70s. By recognising the underlying intention of what is to be conserved, by recognising its basic physical properties, both of which have been suggested above, not only can the unnecessary brutality of such damage be understood and thus averted in the future, and the essential components of the old protected, but within their discipline new work can be freed to make its own unique contribution.

The conservation of Edinburgh's historic framework - that is the street pattern, the land divisions, the public and private movement within the bounds of what was the city proper and is now been titled the "Old Town Conservation Area" - has some

obvious difficulties when on one hand the essential quality of that framework was designed to the advantage of a social organisation which protected indwellers and excluded outdwellers, and on the other hand its present day role is being seen almost solely as the encouragement and attraction of tourists. The interests of its few remaining residents receive minimal financial or social support while the interests of the tourist "industry", receiving as they do financial aid from both national and local government, overwhelmingly predominate. Far from an enclosed and introverted community, the town shelters a mass of transients - tourists, office workers, students, hospital residents, and a few remaining vagrants. There is virtually no indigenous community, and the concept of good neighbourhood is almost entirely unfamiliar. The perverse collision of interest between the maintenance of value and current use is immense, perverse since current use is so dependant on that very maintenance of value. If the characteristics of the quality which is being sold are inconvenient to the administration of present-day commercialism, it is an inconvenience which will have to be accepted and accommodated. If the characteristics are redrawn to a more convenient form, the value - cultural and financial - will have died and only yet another twentieth-century town centre of no particular historic, architectural, social, or cultural quality will remain whatever pastiche clothes it wears.

In the late eighteenth century, the contrast between the use that two different and in many ways opposing organisations of society, with very different social and aesthetic aims, has made of a strong topography, was too harsh, too immediate to be appreciated, and the old city could only be viewed not as sublime, not even as picturesque, but merely as ugly, and a cause of civic embarrassment. Today the contrast between the appearance of the town and of its suburbs is seen as enhancing Edinburgh's quality. The never-ending process of successive generations at each major change in society, first rejecting, then disregarding, then demeaning, then rediscovering - often too late - the advantages of an aged aesthetic should teach the present time to value what little it has left of extraordinary quality. Whether or not that quality is to

the taste of the present generation is immaterial, it is folly to leave it waste and ruinous.

As has been already stated, this thesis started as an attempt first to rectify, then to understand, what seemed to be a deeply misrepresentative view of a particular area at a particular time, and its connection to conservation was indirect and mainly archival. As more and more data was collected and analyzed, as the argument progressed and the assumptions were tested, a much more immediate connection to the protection of the built environment began to emerge. The fourth and last aim has been to study an example of radical social change and the effects such change had, if any, on its environment, and from testing the hypothesis to extrapolate a better understanding of why particular societies value, denigrate, or disregard particular environments. It is hoped that, by underlining the need to explore this non-technical aspect of Conservation, the attitude to other environments may be altered before conservation work is needed, and, by amending the weight of data on the pre nineteenth-century City of Edinburgh, this thesis may help its future evolution to begin to act with the grain of its particular physical form not - as in recent years - against it; that the unique quality of an area central to the history of the Scottish nation will remain to give as much pleasure to the writer's great-grandchildren as it has given to her.

1. Reprint (Milan: 1968), p. 19, quoted in R. Wittkower, *Gothic versus Classic*, p. 93.

2. William Maitland, *The History of Edinburgh from its Foundation to the Present Time*, (Edinburgh: printed for the Author, 1753) p. 136.

3. letter to the Lord Provost and Magistrates from Charles Stuart, quoted in Maitland, op.cit. p. 128.

4. For example, the town walls in Leith Wynd and on the south side of the castle were to be heightened in 1707 to prevent the evasion of wine duty (*Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh*, 5 Sept. 1707). Other examples will be given in the course of the work.

5. A Burgess ticket was obtainable only by right of father or wife, by servitude, or by payment (which could be refused, and was, when the Incorporations felt themselves under economic threat), and residence within the city bounds was mandatory. Trading without a ticket incurred fines and the impounding of goods.

6. see glossary

7. See Franklin Ford, *Europe 1780-1830*, (1970), pp. 21-25.

8. This topic is discussed by Rosalind Mitchison, *Life in Scotland* (1978), pp. 14-15.

9. He became third Duke in 1743 on his brother's death, but will continue to be referred to as Islay throughout the thesis.

10. e.g.3rd Duke of Queensberry and the 5th and 6th Dukes of Hamilton were gentlemen of the bed-chamber.

11. eg 2nd Duke of Argyle and 2nd Earl of Stair were Commanders in Chief.

12. Montrose, Tweedale, Rothes, Haddington, Hopetoun, Marchmont, Findlater, Dundas, and Roxburghe.

13. [1759] "The Duke of Argyle...stopped for a week or two at Brunstane, Lord Milton's, as he now seldom occupied his lodging in the Abbey, not caring to be troubled with too many visitors from the city of Edinburgh."
The Autobiography of Dr. Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk, 1722-1805, (repub. 1910), p. 418.

14. Also known as Royston house. Bought by the 2nd Duke and left to his daughter, the dowager Countess of Dalkeith. "Report of the Eighth Annual Meeting", *B.O.E.C.*, Vol. VIII, p. 6.

15. John Stuart Shaw, *The Management of Scottish Society, 1707-64*, (1983), p. 148.

16. ibid, p. 54.

17. W.R.Ward, "The Land Tax in Scotland, 1707-1798" (reprint from *Bulletin of John Rylands Library*, Sept. 1954), p. 289, quoted in William Ferguson, *Scotland, 1689 to the Present*, (Edinburgh: 1968) p. 157.

18. The life of Duncan Forbes provides a good example of the lawyer's ability to use the system for advancement but retain a large degree of freedom of action. Though Lord President of the Court of Session between 1737 and 48, he was fiercely independent and impervious to all Islay's attempts at discipline.

19. Shaw, op. cit., p. 21.

20. Said as he left the 1732 Assembly. Ferguson p. 123, quoting from *The Whole Works of the late Ebenezer Erskine*, ed. J. Fisher, I. 504.

21. Carlyle, op.cit. p. 554.

22. Parallel to the presbyterian administration ran the Episcopalian, Roman Catholic, and Independent, (as well as the English and French Churches for foreign residents and travellers). In 1746 there were 1 Independent, 1 Seceder, 1 Quaker, 1 French, 1 Roman Catholic, and 12 Episcopalian meeting houses. Maitland, op.cit.

23. *The Memoirs of the Life of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik 1676-1755* (repub. 1892), p. 225. His grandfather had bought the barony of Penicuik in 1654.

24. Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, (1776 re-pub.Penguin 1985) pp. 447,8,9.

25. Lord Milton's Close, opposite Fountain well (ie by Tweedale Court) was referred to in an advertisement in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, May 10th 1750.

26. see Clerk of Penicuik, op.cit.

27. eg Gilbert Elliot of Minto, (law) Lord Covington, Dr. Webster (the High-flyers' leader), Allan Ramsay (the poet and bookseller).

28. In the 1720s, his finances had been severely affected by the collapse of a co-partnery he had established.

29. Wodrow, *Analecta*, Maitland Club, vol.iii.

30. The Board being "firmly in the centre of the new Scottish public institutional network", its trustees were a microcosm of the new society, and as such it has been thought worth listing the members in 1749 (taken from Shaw, p. 68).
[**I**] represents Islay, [**T**] Tweedale, [**Ind**] independent.

Name		Other Posts		Salary
Peers;				
[**I**]	Ross	Customs		500
[**I**]	Somerville	Police		400
[**I**]	Belhaven	Mint		300
[**T**]	Deskford	-		
Lawyers;				
[**T**]	Arniston	Lord President		1000
[**I**]	Tinwald	Justice Clerk and Clerk of Session		1150
[**I**]	Milton	Lord of Session and Keeper of Signet		2000
[**Ind**]	Monzie	Lord of Session and Justiciary	850	
[**I**]	Strichen	Lord of Session and Justiciary	850	
[**I**]	Shewalton	Lord of Session		500
[**Ind**]	Clerk	Baron of Exchequer		500
[**I**]	Maule	Baron of Exchequer		500
[**I**]	Grant	Lord Advocate		1000
[**Ind**]	Hope	Advocate		-

Gentlemen;

[T]	Gorthie	former Cashier of Customs		-
[I]	Kinloch	Writer to the Privy Seal	100	

Edinburgh Merchant Councillors;

[I]	Drummond	Excise		400
[I]	McAulay	Conservator at Vere		200
[T]	Arbuthnott	Customs		500
[I]	Alexander	Tobacco Factor to France	-	
[I]	Lindsay	Governor of the Isle of Man		-

31. Drummond's *Diary*, 24th April 1737, E.U dc 1.8.2-3, quoted in *B.O.E.C.* vol. iv, p. 28.

32. Quoted in Shaw, p. 89.

33. Drummond's *Diary*, op.cit., 5 June 1738.

34. *E.E.C.*, 23 Dec. 1767. It was then possessed by Adam Ferguson.

35. Maitland, op.cit., p. 240.

36. ibid, p. 238, quoting *Constitutions* 3 1585, Council Register, vol. VII f.162.

37. ibid, p. 239, quoting *Constitutions* 6.

38. ibid, p. 140.

39. The "..main function of a servant was to wait on a particular individual or on a collective such as the hens or bairns, not a set task about the house in a well ordered and complicated structure." Mitchison, op.cit., p. 66.

40. R. A. Cage, *The Scottish Poor Law 1745-1845*, (Edinburgh:1981), pp. 2-18.

41. *Ext. T. C. R.*, 8th June 1711, p. 215.

42. ibid, p. xxxiv, quoting *Sederunt Book, the Management of the Import on Ale*, 27th Nov. 1718.

43. *Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs, 1738-59*, 13th May 1746.

44. e.g. John Coutts and Co. c.1740, James Mansfield 1738.

45. Shaw, p. 127.

46. Prestonpans appealed throughout the 1740s for an abatement of tax. It "..was in a pretty flourishing condition at the time of the Union.." but trade ".. has decreased to almost nothing..and the inhabitants are generally in low condition." In 1707, it had 16 vessels belonging to resident merchants, from 50 to 300 tuns. In 1730, 9 Norway, 3 Sweden, 1 Holland and 1 Danzig vessels unloaded. In 1742, only 1 Norway vessel unloaded and that was owned outwith the burgh. *R.C.R.B.*, op.cit., 3 May 1742.

47. see ibid, 23rd July 1746. In 1744, the Margaret of Fraserburgh was ransomed for £130 sterling, the Unity of Newcastle for £170, a Liverpool boat for £250, and a New York boat with an estimated value of £12,000. ibid, 3 July 1744.

48. The Scots Mint had never been successful in providing an adequate uniform coinage (its rights were given up in 1707). Lack of specie was a constant problem, which gave rise to the free exchange of bills and bonds. Old, debased English and Dutch coinage was in common use, "seven hundred thousand Pound in Specie was last week imported from Holland" (*E.E.C.*, Jan. 23 1746). Paying

wages, buying or selling goods, any exchange involving small amounts of cash became tediously complicated as a result of little coinage, or coinage of dubious value.

49. *Charters and other Documents relating to the City of Edinburgh AD 1143-1540* (Edinburgh 1871) No 49, letter under the Privy Seal of James III ratifying and confirming several places for markets.

50. Robert Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, abridged edition, (Edinburgh and London: 1885). The "pest" appeared in Edinburgh in 1568, and was said to have caused 2,500 deaths, (p. 41, quoting *Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrences in Scotland, 1513-1575*. Maitland Club 1833), appeared again in 1584 (p. 97) and 1587 (p. 108).

51. A. J. Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh*, (Edinburgh: 1966), p. 3.

52. ibid, pp. 14, 15.

53. Though a separate Barony, the baron was a former Edinburgh Bailie, and the Bailie was appointed by Edinburgh Town Council.

54. *Proposals for carrying on certain Public Works in the City of Edinburgh*, Gilbert Elliot of Minto, 1752.

55. No 4; cf facsimile in *Edinburgh 1329-1929* (Edinburgh, 1929) opp. p.xvi.

56. It remained a separate burgh of regality till 1856.

57. It was called "Market Street" in 1388, (*Invent. Rec. in Arch. Edin* quoted by Maitland, p. 7). See also *B.O.E.C.*, Vol. XXXIV, part 1, p. 25.

58. The King's Highway was literally that until 1688 when a Charter of James VII granted the streets and the ground under the streets to the town, legalising illicitly built vaults and cellars.

59. Away from the High street, even in the Cowgate and Grassmarket, there seems to have been no attempt to impose aesthetic restrictions, only the slower and less vigorous removal of projections.

60. Instances of prosecutions will be given in the following chapters.

61. Ownership of both tenement (the ground), and land (the building), divided and sub-divided over the years, and, by the eighteenth century, a burgess ticket required only residence and ownership of property (but not necessarily the whole tenement) within the town.

62. Few closes were consistently named. Each individual used an associated person, event, or trait familiar to them (differently referenced in contemporary documents of the same year). The same confusion existed with lands.

63. *Ext. T.C.R.* 11th September 1702, pp 24,25; a road linking Halkerstone's Wynd past the College Kirk to Leith.

64. By 1746, the Council was finding increasing difficulty in selling the tack of scavenging the streets and closes, (for eventual use as manure).

65. *Ext. T.C.R.*, 30th March 1687 (p. 202), 12th May 1693 (p. 121).

66. e.g. A fine of 2/-scots was levied "if any foul water in which the fish has been boiled or the guts of fish are thrown down in fish merkat close", in an "Act for better regulating of the fish mercat", (*Ext. T.C.R.*, 3rd June 1692, p. 94), and "emptieing of chalf beds upon the high streits or vennells" was prohibited on a fine of 20/- sterling (ibid, 12th May 1693, p. 121).

67. e.g. *Petition of Hugh Forbes, Advocate*, 1749; against the overlooking proprietors in Gladstone's Land and James Court throwing excrement etc. at his roof and windows, and *Petition of the Countess of Balcarass*, 30th May 1749; against the proprietors and possessors in Dickson's Close throwing "nastiness and excrement" into the back court siver from Kinloch's and Cant's Close.

68. Because of the "necessitie for keeping the cittie neat and clean..(it was ordered that)..there be office houses erected in severall places of the Cittie..". *Ext. T.C.R.*, 4th Jan. 1688, p. 228.

69. *Complaint of Alexander Campbell and James Stewart*, 15 Nov 1749.

70. See Maitland, p. 105, p. 242, p. 162.

71. *Ext. T.C.R.*, 19th Feb. 1686, and 1703 (p. 44); "pay £5 sterling and £5 in full and compleat payment of 10,000 square stones wrought..out of the Queen's Park for the use of the good tounes calseyes". Contributions to the upkeep of road surfaces were extracted from the main commercial users; eg Hackney Coach masters were obliged to keep the Highway from the Watergate to Leith in repair, and to "lay annually 10 Carts of Gravel or Rotten Stone" (Maitland, p. 338). Duty was payable by "all Carts, Sledges, or Slips" coming into the city, though all carts belonging to noblemen, lords of Session, members of the College of Justice, and burgesses for their family use, were free of duty.

72. Repair of these walks for pedestrians was paid by contiguous heritors, each being seen as responsible for the area over their cellars or under the eavesdrop (their contributions assessed in proportion to property value).

73. Maitland, p. 336.

74. On complaint, the brae was levelled to be passable in winter, the foot fenced so cattle were prevented from running into the loch, and the road widened. *Ext. T.C.R.*, 29th Aug, 19th Oct. 1716, p. 321).

75. As opposed to the rigid conformity of a regular grid structure with single level differentiation between public and private.

76. This had been taken within the boundaries when the city wall moved from its first known position (1450), half way down the south slope of the High street ridge, to the top of the next slope to the south in 1514, bringing the Grassmarket, Greyfriars, and Kirk o' Field within its boundaries. *Charters and other Documents relating to the City of Edinburgh AD 1143-1540* (Edinburgh 1871) No 30.

77. *Ext. T.C.R.* 1698.

78. In 1743. *B.O.E.C.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 14.

79. The "..heritor of the two tinnis courts upon the east sider of old Provost's Close and the waist ground benorth the same..is presently erecting in a bowling green....(he is) ...content to make two tinnis courts in ane fleshmercatt.." (18th and 23rd March 1681, *Ext. T.C.R.*, pp. 7,8). The Watergate court had been converted into weaving sheds.

80. The Society green had a Bowling house and was surrounded by dykes and hedges (*Petition of Mrs. Cleghorn against George Campbell*, 1755). No other information has been found on their appearance.

81. *E.E.C.*, 22nd May 1746.

82. Wilson, pp. 273, 274.

83. ibid p. 296.

84. eg The second storey in Bruce's land, Libberton Wynd, (of six fire rooms etc) "lately possessed by Mr. James Hay, WS" (*E.E.C.*, 17th Nov. 1746); the first storey front land, Warriston Close "presently possessed by Mssrs. Murray and Forbes, both Principal Clerks of Session" (*E.E.C.*, 2nd March 1747); and the great lodging on the north side a little above Stinking Style, "formerly owned and possessed by the deceased James Graham of Airth, Judge of the Admiralty Court" (of 15 fire rooms, etc.), was the Earl of Galloway's lodging in 1747 (*E.E.C.*, 16th Feb. 1747).

85. Chambers (1825) p. 249.

86. Maitland, p. 151.

87. Illustrations used to prove the point almost invariably have been drawn from fifty to one hundred years later, during the worst period of overcrowding, and well after the city was a balanced community.

88. Maitland, p. 140.

89. This statement can be justified, as a rough proportion, from the number known to still exist 100 years later, to which can be added a certain number known to be demolished. These cover much of the 18th century ground plan, and suggest that most of the town was rebuilt after the sack of 1544, (Scotland was at war with England from 1522-42, and 1557-60) some of it on the remaining foundations re-using stone walls and gables where possible, as is shown by the detailing of fireplaces and niches inconsistent with the predominant period of building.

90. See Geoffrey Stell, *Town Houses and Structures in Mediaeval Scotland*, (1980).

91. *Petition of Andrew Stevenson*, 16th June 1762.

92. *T.C.R.*, 4th August 1621. See also *Ext. T.C.R*, App. xxxvi, p. 425, quoted in Helen Armet, "Notes on Rebuilding in Edinburgh in the last quarter of the Seventeenth Century", *B.O.E.C.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 111, p. 111; "being heid burgh of this realme" no-one there in time coming was allowed to build any house except he roof it with "sklaith skailyie lead tyle or thak stane" and if thatch was ruinous, it must be reroofed as above. *Ext. T.C.R.*, 10th June 1681, p. 18; Act of Parliament 17th Sept. 1681, "considering the great dammadge the Cittie and suburbs hes sustained throw the accidents of fyre that fell out in thack houses and kills and barnes in the City and suburbs these severall years bygaine..", the heritors of Edinburgh, Leith, and Canongate were ordered to "take off ther thack rooffes within half a year.." and slate or tile them. The heritors of West Port, Potterrow, Bristow, and Pleasant had one year to conform. *Ext. T.C.R.*, 12th Sep. 1677; after a Canongatehead fire "in many thack houses", the penalty for rebuilding with timber or thatch was set at 500 merks scots as well as demolition of the offending work.

93. *Ext. T.C.R.*, 16th November 1674, p. 197.

94. *Complaint of Thomson against Hall*, 26 July 1749.

95. *Petition of George Campbell*, 21 June 1749.

96. Wilson, pp. 145, 146.

97. Described by Wilson as the mansion of John, the second son of the fourth Lord Oliphant; "partly stone and partly timber ...The gables are finished with the earliest form of crowstep, considerably ornamented. A curiously moulded dormer window, of an unusual form, rises into the roof; while, attached to the floor below, an antique timber projection is thrown out as a covered gallery, within which there is a very large fireplace on the external front of the stone wall ... The first floor is approached as usual by an outer stair, at the top of which a very beautifully moulded doorway affords entrance to a stone turnpike, forming the internal communication to the different floors. A rich double cornice encircles this externally ..." (pp. 282,3).

98. ibid, p. 301.

99. eg. The lodging at the foot of Foulis Close lately possessed by Major John Young had six fire rooms with closets, pantry, garrets and cellar, with two rooms and a cellar outside, and a little garden. The previous tenant (the Earl of Stair) of the other lodging under the same roof but with a different entry, had nine fire rooms with closets, kitchen, brewhouse, pantries, garrets and cellars, with a stable and stable yard, and a coal yard.

100. eg the irregular surface of stone rubble was plastered on the hard (a thin, soft, lime plaster unlike either the present "porridgey" harling or smooth hard cement cake icing), sealing surface dirt, unifying colour and texture, smoothing but not concealing irregularities; a flat regular surface was achieved by smooth dressed stone, sometimes painted; ceiling decoration was applied and adapted to the size of the exposed underside of joists and floorboards of the room above.

101. One emblem, a hand cutting off the barren branch of a fruit tree with the motto *Virescit Vulnere Virtus*, when embroidered by Mary I was read as one of the many examples of an attitude subversive to the reign of her cousin Elizabeth of England (Norfolk panel, Victoria and Albert Museum).

102. Conrad Gesner, *Historiae Animalium*, Zurich 1551, Geoffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes and other Devises*, Leyden 1586, Claude Paradin, *Devises Heroiques*, Lyon 1557, Gabrielle Rollenhagen, *Nucleus Emblematum Selectissirorum*, Cologne 1611.

103. eg the large quadrangular building in Niddrys Wynd, Wilson, p. 260; the large building enclosing a square in the centre of Strichens Close, p. 261; the enclosed court at Thomas Hopes house, p. 329.

104. eg a lodging within the court in Niddry's Wynd belonging to Mr. Lockhart of Carnwath, consisting of 11 fire rooms, kitchen, pantry, servants' room, 3 cellars, stable, hayloft and yard. *E.E.C.*, 4th November 1746.

105. Arnot, p.127.

106. eg The third floor (west) of Richardson's two tenements of five floors, at the head of Purves Close, had seven fire rooms; the third floor of Borthwick's land, at the head of Miln's Square, had a dining room, four bed-chambers, one dark closet and a kitchen all with fires; the third floor of Writers Court had six fire rooms, a large outer room and pantry; the fourth floor of James Smith's land at the foot of Niddry's Wynd had 7 fire rooms etc. *B.O.E.C.*, vol. XXIX pp. 119-137.

107. The most grandiose and extensive scheme, Thomas Robertson's Parliament Close scheme, completed in 1683, first ran into financial difficulties, then burnt down shortly after completion in 1700. For further details see *B.O.E.C.*, vol. XXIV, pp. 126-151.

108. A similar Act of 1663 reduced the period to 3 years. *A.P.S.*, Vol. VI (I), p.227, also *A.P.S.*, Vol. VII, p. 457, both quoted in *B.O.E.C.*, Vol. XXIX, op.cit. p. 112.

109. *Complaint of Alexander Campbell, brewer, and James Stewart, writer,* 15 November 1749; both proprietors of several houses in a stone land on the west side of Bell's Wynd with Carbiston's ruinous tenement on their north. The possessors of houses (belonging to Carbiston's son, Colonel James Cathcart) to its north, were throwing out "gross nastiness" into the ruins which had grown to a height near equal to the complainants' forewall, and as well as the smell, the water, they said, "Sypes thro our houses and rotts and spoils the furniture."

110. As an incentive, taxes on the property were to be remitted for a period of seventeen years after approved rebuilding, and in 1680, duty was temporarily lifted on carts bringing stone for rebuilding to encourage the removal of timber fronts.

111. 7th May 1674, see *P.C.R.*, Vol. IV, pp. 180-4.

112. *Ext. T.C.R.*, 4th Nov. 1674, (p. 197).

113. A brief list of the more prominent contractors or contractor/developers and their work can give an idea of its type and extent: Robert Milne, with Andrew Patterson, wright, began Milne's Square in 1684, and Milne's Court in 1690, Writers' Court (with Patrick Steill, vintner) in the 1690s; William Milne, with Duncan Buchanan, wright, built a five-storied stone land within the pend of Todrig's Wynd in the 1690s; James Smith, mason, rebuilt frontlands at Canongate head, a large stone land of at least five stories at the west foot of Niddry's Wynd, and a five-storied stone frontland east of Paisley's Close; Patrick Carfrae, mason, (with Patrick Steil) rebuilt some ruinous tenements at the head of Blackfriars Wynd, at six stories in stone; Alexander Govanlock, mason, built a great stone land on the west of Forrester's Wynd and a frontland east of Ireland's Close in the 1690s; John Hamilton, wright, rebuilt a land at six stories in stone to the west of Milne's Square in 1689, and a double six-storied land on the south side of Conn's Close in the 1690s.
A list of some developers shows the same consistency: Alexander Paterson merchant, rebuilt a land to the east of Parliament Close c. 1684 (burnt down 1700); Hugh Blair vintner, and John Montgomery W.S., rebuilt a six-storied land to the north of Paterson's land with Milne as mason, in the 1680s; John Bayne of Pitcairly, W.S., built to the east of Blair's land c1670s; Robert Richardson W.S., was co-proprietor of a two-storied timber tenement on the north side of the High Street below the cross rebuilt to at least four stories in stone, and the owner of two five-storied tenements on the south side just above the Netherbow which he also rebuilt in the 1680s; James Elphinstone W.S. built a five-storied land near the foot of Mint Close; Alexander Borthwick, vintner, rebuilt a timber land in stone at seven stories in front of Milne's Square in the 1680s. For details see *B.O.E.C.*, Vol. XXIX, op. cit., pp. 115-137.

114. See Appendix i. Also *A.P.S.*, vol. X, pp. 150-1, quoted in 17th June 1698 *Ext. T.C.R.*, p. 233.

115. eg: "Upon a complent anent the unwarrantable hight of the new buildings on the south syde of the parliament closs And that Robert Milne masson had proceeded in building above his jedge and warrand after he was prohibite by the Councill and dean of Guild Court.." he was ordered to take down the "unwarranted" height, fined 500 merks, and imprisoned till the fine paid and the work demolished (*Ext. T.C.R.*, 13th Aug. 1701, p. 285). In 1703, he was ordered to take down pillars on a north side wall which were too advanced into the street, fined £5 sterling and kept in prison till he paid (ibid, 5 Feb.), then he "incroached upon the town's propertie" with his building in the Luckenbooths and was fined (ibid, 2 April 1703).

116. e.g. *Act in favour of Thomas Miln, mason,* 5 April 1745; for repairs to Richardson's Land. *Petition of Edward Lothian for the heritors of Govanlock's Land,* 27 June 1750; repairs. *Petition of William Mylne, mason, and heritors of Govanlock's Land,* 25 February 1762; taking down and rebuilding parts of east gable founded on the north west corner of the side wall of a little land immediately to east as ordered.

117. *Petition of William Forbes, W.S., and Andrew Good, wright, for themselves and in the name of the other heritors of Blair's Land,* 1 Aug 1750.

118. A term which, in Scotland, only within the writer's lifetime has begun to be applied to houses rather than stories.

119. "... coronets, which had not hitherto been uniformly borne by the nobility, nor distinguished by marks, pointing out the different orders to which they belong, were appointed by the king to adorn their armorial bearings" (*Records of the Privy Council,* No. 1. p. 481.). Entails, an "expedient much more effectual ... for making out and perpetuating the distinction of ranks, for supporting the nobility of birth, upon the basis of indissoluble opulence of possession" were established (*James VII, parl. I, sess. I.* c.22), and public "solemnities, especially funerals, were celebrated with an extravagance of pomp, which at once displayed the vanity of the conductor, and reduced him to poverty." Arnot, pp. 127, 128.

120. Ross was one of the few aristocrats with a public career in Scotland. He was a Trustee for the Board of Manufactories, Commissioner of Excise then Customs, Director of the Royal Bank, and Rector of Glasgow University. While Master of Ross he was granted feu of 20 acres of Heriot's croft and the Windmill acres, by the Town Council in 1738. (*B.O.E.C.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 249.)

121. Mr. Lockhart, Judge of the Court of Session.

122. Maitland, p. 469.

123. *Ext.T.C.R.*, 6 April 1681.

124. *E.E.C.* 17th Nov. 1718, quoted in Law, p. 43.

125. see Wilson, *Memorials*, p. 186, and *B.O.E.C.*, Vol. XIV, p.11 onwards.

126. Chambers, *Traditions*, p.95, for plan see *Reekiana*.

127. West Port 1514, Bristow or Society Port, 1515, Cowgate, 1516, Hospital postern c1520, College postern c1560. Maitland, op. cit..

128. Wilson p. 203.

129. *Ext.T.C.M.*, 4 Feb. 1685.

130. Wilson, *Memorials*, p. 202.

131. J. Gifford, C. McWilliam, D. Walker, *Buildings of Scotland: Edinburgh*, (1984), p. 175.

132. "Mr. Barclay begins the Rudiments class October next. Such as enter then continue with him for four years: in which time besides grammar and the Latin authors commonly read, he proposes, if the parents incline, to give them some knowledge of mythology, Roman antiquities, geography and Ancient History." *E.E.C.* 8th Aug. 1745.

133. Maitland, p. 368.

134. In Old Bank Close, its date, according to the lintel, 1569.

135. It first belonged to the first Earl of Haddington, see Wilson, p.327.

136. *B.O.E.C.*, vol. VIII, p. 4 onwards.

137. The Earls of Hyndford, Selkirk, and Rosebery all had property in the area, though were not necessarily in residence.

138. *B.O.E.C.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 115-118.

139. A house on the second floor of Pitcairlie's land had four chambers, two closets, a dining room and kitchen, all with fires. (City Archives, Moses, Bundle 93, No. 3997, quoted in *B.O.E.C.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 118.)

140. Maitland, pp. 185-187.

141. See Alistair Rowan, "George Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh", in *Country Life*, March 6 1975, pp. 554-557, and March 13, 1975, pp. 634-637.

142. Maitland, p. 440.

143. *B.O.E.C.*, Vol. XIV, p. 11 onwards.

144. Hugo Arnot, *The History of Edinburgh from the Earliest Accounts to the Year 1780*, Edinburgh:1816, p. 228.

145. see *B.O.E.C.*, Vol. XVII, p. 71 for conditions, ie diet and other amenities.

146. *Ext.T.C.R.*, 15th July 1687, and 21st October 1687, pp. 211, 222.

147. ibid, the 15th, and 23rd March 1681.

148. Damaged in the fire of 1700, it was rebuilt the next year. ibid, intro. p. xxvi.

149. ibid, 9th May 1716, p. 313, and Maitland, p. 204.

150. Stands were not to exceed 2 1/2 elns each way, with a passage of two feet left each side. The custom duty on and regulations for the fruit market, *T.C.M.* Vol. 66, 15th April 1747.

151. Nicol's *Diary*, p. 48.

152. ibid, p. 300.

153. The first, temporary, accommodation was in Merchants Court, the property of the Company of Merchants (also rented by the Excise Office). *B.O.E.C.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 11.

154. At Watson's, if the apprenticeship was successfully completed and boys reached the age of twenty-five debt free, unmarried, and with a good reputation, a special grant of £50 sterling to set up in business was given.

155. Seven boys went to the High School from Heriot's in 1738.

156. For further details see Alexander Law, *Education in Edinburgh in the Eighteenth Century*, (1965), from whom much of the information in this and other related sections in following chapters has been taken.

157. The London Foundling Hospital established by Thomas Coram in 1742, had c. 52% mortality in the first 15 years. The London workhouses had 275 children admitted in 1763, all but nineteen of whom died within two years. The Dublin Foundling Hospital, established in 1729, had c. 49% mortality. A report of 1758 described,

> "..verminous sore covered children reared ... in buildings open to wind and rain. The milk was watered, the stirabout full of

insects and sand, the beef crawled with maggots, while the treasurer ... kept order with a cat-o'-nine-tails and threats of confinement in Bedlam to staff and children alike."

158. Part of application for grant of charter to Geo. II (1735), quoted in Maitland, p. 453.

159. ibid, p. 430.

160. In 1782-83, of 200 children resident, an average of seven died per year. *E.E.C.*, 30th Dec. 1782, and 6th Jan 1783.

161. £200 of the collection of £600 was to go to building a house for accommodating twenty or thirty weaving looms on which to teach young children (*T.C.M.*, Vol. 66, 3rd April 1747). This was erected in 1748 on the west side of the Workhouse (Maitland, p. 431).

162. *B.O.E.C.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 67-74.

163. J. D. Dunbar-Nasmith, "Designs for Health: The Architecture of the Royal Infirmaries of Edinburgh", in *Edinburgh's Infirmary, A Symposium etc.*, Edinburgh:1979, quoted in *Order and Space in Society*, ed. Thomas A. Markus, Edinburgh:1982, p. 31.

164. "As the middle Part of the House is more properly a College than an Hospital, and as the whole must in Time prove the Glory of this Country, some of the Contributors who gave liberal Donations towards carrying on the Building, signified to the Managers, that the ornamenting of the middle Part of the House, where the Hall, Operation-room, etc. are, on the Front, would be agreeable to them; judging that such a Stretch of Building must have a poor Appearance, without decently dressing that Part which first attracts the Eye: And therefore the Managers thought it their Duty to comply with the Contributors Desire..." (Maitland, p. 457).

165. Firstly, the evolution of the most suitable context for enabling a task to be carried out is dependant on a single, specific, and invariable conception of the nature of the task and of the means of carrying it out. The more particularly the physical surroundings relate to such specific conceptions, the less flexibility is allowed, and the possibility of altering the nature of the task and the way it is carried out becomes almost impossible within these surroundings. Secondly, the tendency to transfer the perception of quality from performance to environment may also be encouraged; that is, it is possible that the "correct" appearance of performance could become more important than the performance itself, and the corollary, that an "incorrect" appearance would negate any quality of performance is also possible.

166. Adam Ferguson, *Essay on the History of Civil Society*, 1767, quoted in Duncan Forbes, "Adam Ferguson and the Idea of Community", in *Edinburgh in the Age of Reason* (Edinburgh: 1967), p. 46.

167. The courts kept only the rights to try civil cases with a penalty below 40 shillings, and criminal below 20 shillings. More importantly, they still had the power to enforce the collecting of rents. In Edinburgh, the Council were relieved of the irritation of the regality of Drem, at the foot of the West Bow.

168. Ferguson, op.cit. p. 155.

169. Ferguson, pp. 159, 160.

170. Carlyle, (1751), p.260.

171. later Lord Alemoor, Court of Session.

172. Son of a merchant who lost money in speculation and held minor position in the Excise, nephew of James Bannatine minister of Trinity College Kirk, also related to Robert Watson Professor then Principal of St Andrews, and distantly related to William Robertson [1718 - 1800]. See Richard B. Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: 1985), p. 25.

173. His father was the minister of Borthwick, his aunt was married to Rev. James Nisbet, and his other aunt married an Adam. He married his cousin, and his other (Nisbet) cousin was a Town Councillor.

174. Carlyle, p. 256 onwards. Home was son of Leith's town clerk, his cousin Rev. William Home's neice married Alexander Carlyle, and Home himself married William Home's daughter.

175. George, 13th Lord Ross, was a Commissioner of Customs. William, the 12th Lord Ross had been a representative peer, a Lord of Treasury, and Commissioner of the Union. His wife, daughter of the 2nd Marquis of Lothian and granddaughter of the 9th Earl of Argyll, was Islay's cousin - as he was Islay's agent.

176. It also led to yet another split, the losers founding the Relief Presbytery in 1761.

177. Act 16 Geo II 1743. Outside of the royal burghs, under an Act of 1681, freeholder franchise was given to those with land held of the crown with a current value of 40/- old extent or £400 scots. There was an official list of freeholders on which those wanting to vote **had** to enrol. Fines of £500 sterling were imposed on sheriffs showing bias. Nominal and fictitious votes continued.

178. By a committee reviewing the sett of the town. For details see Alexander Heron, *Rise and Progress of the Company of Merchants*, pp. 105, 106.

179. Fifty thousand pounds (sterling) worth of tobacco was bought in Scotland by the farmers general of tobacco in France in 1747, by an indulgence granted at the first outbreak of war. *Ext.C.R.B.S.*, 19 December 1747.

180. They had developed a complex organisation in the colonies, with resident factors extending credit to the planters taking future crops as security.

181. Act 24 George II, c 31 (1750-1)

182. *E.E.C.* 22 July 1754.

183. *E.E.C.* 29 July 1754

184. eg; one of the first steam engines was installed in a colliery in 1720, the use of vitriol in bleaching (1749) led to large vitriol works at Prestonpans, and the Carron Ironworks' beginning in 1759 would not have been possible without Darby's breakthrough in smelting.

185. See Ferguson, p.166, for fuller description.

186. *Inquiry into the Original of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue* in 1725, and the *Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affectations, with Illustrations upon the Moral Sense* in 1728.

187. "Nature is imperfect and an artist must improve upon her by selecting and combining choisest parts ... so an architect should extract "selected beauties whose wanted charms might form" the perfect country house from Greek and Roman antiquity", quoted in John Fleming, *Robert Adam and his Circle*, pp 72, 28, (John Murray: 1962).

188. New books on sale in Edinburgh in 1758 included; *Select architecture*, by Roger Morris, at 10/6, *Architecture improved by the same..in the taste of Inigo Jones, Mr. Kent, etc*, at 7/6, *The complete drawing book..from Le Clerc, Le Brun, Barlow and Chatlain*, at 5/-, *Ornamental architecture in the Gothic Chinese and modern taste*, at 6/-, (EEC 19 August 1758) and, second hand, *Piranesi's antiquities of Rome, Palladio's architecture* by Ware, Ware's complete body of architecture, *Borromini opus architectorium*, and *The grand theatre of Venice*, (*E.E.C.* 19 December 1758).

189. *B.O.E.C.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 43.

190. *Caledonian Mercury*, 10th August 1738.

191. Taste, that is, "in the exclusive, snobbish sense of the recognition of certain fixed values by certain people". John Summerson, *Georgian London*, (Penguin revised edition: 1969).

192. His house at New Milnes was built by Isaac Ware in the 1750s.

193. "...to [his] direct and practical mind the art of architecture consisted in sound building and surface decoration. Having little feeling for, and less understanding of, the intrinsic qualities of mass rythmn and proportion he applied Vanbrughian, Gibbsian and sometimes even Palladian features to his facades purely for their decorative effect, occasionally even to disguise the underlying structure", that, "..[not] only the exterior bears little relation to the interior, but ... he experienced great difficulty in arranging a following of rooms of practical size behind symmetrically placed windows." Fleming, op.cit., pp. 72, 28.

194. *Faculty Collection of Decisions, II*. No. xxxiv, 4 July 1757: Robert Sheddon against A Negro.

195. 1753 Act

196. eg; Dublin's Wide Streets Commission in 1757, and the City of London Acts of 1760 and 61.

197. A warrant of 1750 concerns the repaving of the north side of High Street (east to west): from Hart's Close to Thomas Moore's (old Post House); from Baillie Inglis shop to John's Coffee House; from Mary King's Close to Warriston Close; from Baillie Mansfield's stair to Young and Trotter's stair then to Gavinlock's Land; and from Thos. Gardiner's stair to Cuddie's shop. An Act of 1756 concerns the laying of pavement on south side Canongate: from

Abbay Strand to St. John's Cross; then to St. Mary's Wynd. Awarrant of 1756 concerns the south side of High Street, from Parliament Close to City Guard, and one of 1759, the south side of High Street from the east end of the City Guard to the Netherbow Port.

198. 1749 Riddles Close, 1750 Advocates Close, 1751 Byres Close, 1755 Parliament Close.

199. *Scroll of Heritors of Lands south side of the Canongate against the Treasurer appointed for collecting funds for Improvements and Pavement in the Canongate*, 1761.

200. *Petition of Robert Gray*, 15 February 1749.

201. eg: "They do not always deal in blood;
Nor yet in breaking human bones,
For Quixot-like they knock down stones.
Regardless they the mattock ply,
To root out Scots antiquity."

202. *Claudero* was the pen-name of James Wilson, a native of Cumbernauld, said to have been crippled in his youth by a brutal beating from his local minister. He lived by teaching, in his house at the foot of Horse Wynd, by forming *half-merk* marriages, and by selling lampoons. His *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* was published in 1766. (See Wilson's *Memorials*, pp. 445-449.)

203. Chambers (1825 edition), p. 34.

204. 2 September 1752.

205. *Ext.T.C.R.*, 25 August 1708, p. 159.

206. eg, between Borthwicks and Assembly Close, "that big hall or great room known by the name of the assembly house being part of the new great stone tenement lately built" (quoted from the *Instrument of Sasine, 1723*, in *B.O.E.C.*, Vol. XIX, p. 43), and between Conn's and Burnets, two large stone tenements rebuilt in the 1690's (ibid, Vol. XXIX, p. 130).

207. *Petition of John Duncan and other creditors*, 1751. *Petition of Patrick Jamieson, mason and John Yuill, wright*, 19th February 1752; accounts for taking down the two houses (the owners being described as the heirs and creditors of the deceased David Denham). Work took 38 mason days (at 16 8/12d per day) and 184 workman days (at 7d per day), and produced 166 carts of redd (rubbish) which was taken away to the King's Park (at 5d per cart). *Petition of Alexander Martine, Doctor of Medicine, for himself and his sister-in-law Mary Brownlees, and Hugh Inglis, wright*; the laigh shops and 2 cellars were owned by Mary Brownlees and Hugh Inglis, wright, and the 2nd storey above shop by Alex. Martine. *Petition of Robert Reid W.S. as trustee for Dr. Cunningham of London, Mr. Muir of Bruntwood, and James Marshal, Sherriff Clerk of Renfrew*, 5th June 1754; the first storey of the tenement at the close head, "the Labouratory", was valued at £80 sterling, annual rent £14, the second storey at £70, annual rent £8, the first storey of the tenement to the east, "the Writing Chamber", at £70, rent £ 8/18/-. *Petition of Robert Gray, Procurator Fiscal, against John Stenhouse and Archibald Sheills, merchants*, 3 September 1754.

208. *Petition of Archibald Sheils for the heritors of the two tenements of land, east and west of Old Assembly Close*, 13 November 1754. *Petition of Archibald Blair, writer*, 25th October 1754; lately purchased from Dr. Cunningham the right to the first story above shops in the tenement of land immediately at the head of Borthwicks Close - for permission to build to conform to plan and elevation by John Yeats. *Complaint of John Moubray*, 6 January 1755; over the thickness of the gable between Kerr's and Reid's land. *Petition of Richard Cooper, engraver in Canongate, John Moubray, wright, George Wilson, mason and other proprietors of these areas at the back of the cross*, 1755.

209. *Petition of Archibald Inglis of Auchendinny and other heritors of Elphinston's Land at the Cross*, 1752; repair of the defective south gable in which the Royal Bank has an interest. *Claim of William Dallas, wright, against Archibald Inglis of Auchendinny, deceased and other heritors*, 28 May 1755; that the heritors having agreed to a plan given in to the court had changed their minds due tothe expense, so the expense should become a real and preferable debt on the property. *Petition of Charles Mack, mason*, 12 May 1756; accounts for mason work of Elphinston and Carbistons Lands (the estimated cost of each storey above the shops (the Toun of Edinburgh's property) in 1753 had been £138/10/6 with £5 sterling added for additional feet of vents. The first storey immediately above the shops belonging to the Viscount of Oxford and Mr Dallas, the second and fourth to the heirs of George Lauder, the third to Mr Inglis, and the topmost to the Viscount of Oxford.

210. *Jedge and warrant*, 26th March 1755. *Petition of Archibald Ponton, baxter and others*, 14th May 1755. *Petition of John Moubray*, 20 September 1757.

211. *Petition of Charles Howison, wright, Box Master to the Incorp. of Mary's Chapel*, 1754.

212. *Petition of George Aitken, smith*, 26 July and 8 Sept. 1756.

213. *Petition of Andrew Wardrope, late Baillie, Charles Freebairn, Architect, for Mr. David Munroe, cabinetmaker, Gilbert Lawrie, Druggist, James Home, Writer, for Mr. Parkhill's heirs, and Thomas Armour, proprietors of two tenements east and west of Cant's Close*, 6 February 1760.

214. In partnership with Patrick Steil, vintner. Steil's "great lodging possest by him" had been part of south area burned in 1708; Assembly Close was then known as Patrick Steil's Close. (*B.O.E.C.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 125, 126.)

215. *Petition of William Todd junior and other heritors*

216. *Answers of Christian Hay relict of Alex.Home, Clerk of Leith, Helen Cunningham spouse to Mr. Charles Hamilton Gordon, and Anne Ellis spouse to Robert Balfour merchant in Leith, heritors of the fourth storey*, 3rd January 1752.

217. *Petition of James Armour WS and other heritors* (mid-tenement) 1752, and 9 May 1752.

218. *Petition of Robert Tod and John Dalgleish*, 8 April 1757.

219. The room was re-measured, and the space, "formerly the Auction rooms Projecting Without the North wall 3 ft.9ins. by 10ft. from east to west, 8ft. high having a door through said North wall, to said Closet, with hewen stone Cheeks.." was allowed.

220. *Petition of John Russell for James Hay, Margaret Simpson, and John Grant*, 1754.

221. *Petition of Alexander Peters, wright, Patrick Jameson, mason, and John ffergus, architect*, 1754.

222. The other proprietors were James Armour, writer to the signet, Robert Lothian, writer, and Thomas Alison, glazier. Mrs. Blair, relict of Hugh Blair, minister, had been the owner of the fourth storey. Hugh fforbes, Principal Clerk of Session, and Robert Kinneir, merchant, were the tenants and possessors. The shops paid £40 sterling per annum, and "Mr. Baillies house" c£20; £60sterling for at least two years. The cost of work, they "moderately computed at £600 sterling".

223. He also owned a house on the east side of Lyon's Close which, in 1750, he had proposed to take down and rebuild, and others in Milne's and Warristons land.

224. *Ext.T.C.R.*, 30 April 1697.

225. Somerville (p. 352) remarks that though maltsters had been amongst the most flourishing of trades at the beginning of the century, they were badly affected by duties imposed after the Union. "I have seen", he says, "twenty-four maltkilns and floors [in the border towns], which, though most of them were then in ruins, had all been in occupation within the memory of my older parishioners."

226. *B.O.E.C.*, Vol. XIII, p. 21.

227. Campbell was also the owner (and perhaps developer?) of Campbell's Land, at the back of Parliament Close, east of the meal market. A second storey house there consisted of six fire rooms, closets, kitchen, pantry, cellar and garret, and in 1754 was possessed by Lord Torphichen. (*E.E.C.* 22 January 1754.)

228. *Petition of George Cambell, house carpenter*, 1764; Campbell's answer within the bundle contains a history of the subjects proving his rights of ownership. Chambers attributed the square to a "tailor of the name of Campbell, having got into the good graces of his chief the Duke of Argyle" was told of the death of King George the First in time to make a small fortune from cornering the supply of black cloth for mourning. "This he afterwards employed in building a few of the houses in Argyle Square, and conferred that name on them in honour of his patron." Chambers (1825 edition) pp.43,44.

229. *Complaint of Jean Hamilton, relict of Hugh Cleghorn, brewer, and Gavin Hamilton, merchant against George Campbell, wright*, 1752; Jean Hamilton, proprietor of a piece of waste ground, formerly a malt barn and kiln on Society green, had disponed a strip of ground next to it to George Campbell, wright, to build on, who then threw earth and rubbish onto her waste ground. *Petition of Jean Cleghorn*, 26 August 1754; Campbell had continued building but made, "a Niche or Hole in his wall opposite the north side of the kiln", in an attempt to evade the decree. The site plan shows a gable of "Blear dromond hous" 37ft. 11ins from Mr. Campbell's gable, Drummond's back wall 32 ft, and Campbell's 13ft 3ins from Mrs Cleghorn's wall. Campbell was also ordered to remove "Redd and Rubbish" by the kiln to bring the surface four foot lower, with a penalty of £5 sterling. *Complaint of Mrs. Cleghorn and the Procurator Fiscal versus George Campbell, wright*, 1755.

230. *Petition of Colin Alison, wright*, 8 November 1749 (no drawings).

231. *Petition of John Moubray, wigmaker*, 11 August 1749.

232. *Petition of Robert fferrier*, 30 July 1755; the existing tenement was bought with close, stabling, lofts and other office houses at the back (or east), and garden east of that, all presently used by fferrier, with a summerhouse in the garden rented by John Douglas, surgeon.

233. *E.E.C.*, 29 March 1750.

234. ibid, 22 January 1754.

235. Carlyle, p.425.

236. Chambers (1825 ed.) pp. 41, and 45.

237. eg The Miss Blackwoods, resident in Alison's square in 1757 were also heritors of one of the large houses in President's land, one of Miln's buildings on the east side of Parliament close (*Petition of Charles Mack, mason*, 20 April 1757), and Lady Schaw and Lady Polly Wemyss possessed two of

the four "genteel and convenient lodgings in Alison's new land", to be sold by roup (*E.E.C.*, 2 May 1754).

238. *Complaint of Paterson against Preston*, 1756; Miss Katherine Paterson of Kirkliston was the proprietor of one lodging, the other rented out by Miss Agnes Preston, the sister german [in-law?] to Sir George Preston of Valleyfield.

239. *Petition of Colonel James Cathcart of Corbiston, Mrs. Elizabeth Rochead, younger daughter of Sir James Rochead of Inverleith, Alexander Brown, David Nay, David Berry, Hugh Campbell, merchants, Francis Farquharson, accomptant, and James Armour W.S.*, 1748; Mitchel had also erected a furnace, the cause of, "...noxious Steam and the troublesome Squeaking which his bellows make...and the danger of fire."

240. The Earl of Galloway's house (pre-1745), though not a villa as such was a modern and expensive structure; "The lobby of this house is paved with marble, and the whole structure is upon a scale equally magnificent." Chambers (1825 edition) p. 191.

241. *Petition for the Marquis of Tweedale*, 1749. *Complaint of the Marquis of Tweedale*, 8 June 1750.

242. *Petition of John Belsches*, 1748.

243. *Complaint of Susanna Paterson*, 1748

244. *Petition of James Dick*, 1 June 1757

245. *Petition of Thomas Mirtle, brewer*, 5 August 1752

246. *Petition of the Right Honourable Earl of Galloway and others*, 1750.

247. *Brieve of division*, 14 and 28 November, and 15 December 1583, quoted in the defence of Reoch, 1752. The property lay between John Adamson's land on the west, the Earl of Marr's on the east, the Town wall on the south, and the high street, Cowgate on the north. It was divided between the two Craik sisters, (one had married Chisholm, the other first Senior(?), then Poor). The foreland, which went to one sister, consisted of two laigh houses, a Hall, chamber, one little kitchen, loft, and a little cellar adjoining, with the Entry through the foreland, the Entry at the back, together with the yard, "all to remain for the first and ane part of the said Land and equal half thereof". The back part, with similar accommodation, was left to the other sister, "...and the Well to be common to both ..and the fore Land to have ane free passage thro' the Closs to the back Cellar and yeard." The two-storied land then passed through a long list of owners until it was rebuilt to six stories by Thomas Ballantyne, who had bought it (26 March 1688), the two top storeys were then sold to Alexander Campbell, writer, later that year, and the other four, together "..with the Brewhouse Cellars Closs and well in the Closs buckets chains and haill parts and parts thereof whereof the undermost Storrie Brewhouse and pertinents", in 1702.

248. *Scroll Act and Appreciation in favour of James Forrest of Comiston*, 20 November 1750.

249. *Petition of Thomas Mirtle*, 26 February 1752, (warrant of 12 February 1751).

250. *Petition of Lady Charles Kerr*, 18 February 1752; having ruled that the walls should be the "usual Eighteen inches from her Sidewall which she is allow'd for the Easing Drop", the Guild court gave Lady Kerr the right to "Dispose of as many of the stones as will pay the Expense of Downtaking", if not done by Reoch within four weeks.

251. Bowl and ring "was played with a ring which moved on a pivot, through which the bowl of the adversary was driven by a sort of mallet ...There was considerable skill and I think rather more interest than even at billiards". Henry Mackenzie, *Anecdotes and Egotisms, 1745-1830*, (Oxford Univ. Press: 1927), p. 86.

252. *Petition of the Right Hon. Countess of Stair and others*, 1752.

253. *Petition of Thomas Mirtle*, 5 August 1752.

254. *E.E.C.*, 14 January 1758.

255. *Petition of Alexander Peters*, 10 April 1751, and 12 February 1752.

256. *Petition of James Drummond, merchant*, 17 April 1752; he claimed damages for the loss of 6 Avenue trees @ 3/4d each, shrubs and flowers (£3.0.0d), the yearly rent of both his own house and the house (£9.10.0d), the "above neither being Lett for want of proper Jedge and Entry."

257. *E.E.C.*, 19 February 1754.

258. *Petition of George Drummond of Blair Drummond*, 1751.

259. Chambers, pp. 24-27.

260. *Act pro Alan Ramsay of Kinkell*, 21 March 1750; a list of previous owners, includes its purchase by Samuel Mclellan under the "..Act King Charles 2 anent Ruinous houses within Royal Burrows.. [of]..All and haill of that Ruinous house waste, waste ground and ground belonging to ... the heirs of the deceased Robert Davidson, merchant which were demolished several years bypast..", on 10 May 1698, and the sale of tenement of Archibald Hope to Ramsay on 1 April 1742.

261. *Scroll Act and Warrant pro John Davidson W.S.*, with Petition of 4 May 1757.

262. *Petition of Charles Butters and others*, 1751.

263. *Petition of Dr. Patrick Cumming, minister of the Gospel*, 1757.

264. Minister of St. Giles, Professor of Church History in College, and three times Moderator of the General Assembly. (Carlyle, p. 237 and note.)

265. Minister at the Tolbooth, whose wife had £4,000 and who was also left £6,000 by "one of his pious disciples". Carlyle p. 252.

266. Wilson, p. 140

267. Occupied in 1707 by John, 5th Earl of Roxburghe, Secretary of State and Lord Privy Seal, Wilson, p.297

268. eg: "Friday last, their Graces the Duke and Duchess of Queensberry arrived at their lodgings in the Canongate, from Drumlanrig" (*E.E.C.*, 3 Sept. 1753); "Sunday Night, the Duke and Duchess of Queensberry arrived at his Grace's house in the Canongate, from Drumlanrig (*E.E.C.*, 23 July 1754).

269. ibid, 11 February 1754.

270. *B.O.E.C.*, vol. IV, p. 46, 47.

271. *Petition of William Morison of Craigleith*, 27 June 1750. The lodging's original height is given as one storey in a later petition to extend the accomodation over an adjoining stable.

272. *Petition of E. and J. Penman, daughters to the deceased J. Penman Essay Master to H.M. Mint*, 27 February 1751.

273. *Petition of Oliver Colt of Auldhame*, 24 March 1756.

274. *Petition of Robert Fleming printer*, 2 May 1759.

275. *Process of James Mack, mason, and James Armour, WS v Thomas Jamison, skinner*, 11 August 1749.

276. *Petition of William Elliot, writer, as factor for Mr. Morrison of Craigleith*, 1755.

277. *Petition of William Forbes WS*, 13 November 1754, and 1756.

278. *Petition of James Wemyss, late clerk to the Post Office*, 3 May 1749, and 1751.

279. *Petition of Archibald Inglis pewterer*, 11 July 1753.

280. *Complaint of David Alston glazier v Baillie William Hamilton brewer and William Beugo merchant*, 2 August 1758.

281. *Petition of James Shearer wigmaker*, 6 March 1751.

282. *Complaint of Mrs. Cleghorn*, evidence of Alexander Ladlie cowfeeder, 1755.

283. *Petition of John Milne, founder*, 6 August 1755.

284. *Act and Warrand of the Lords of Council and Session in favour of Thomas Allan and others, for keeping of the Guild Court*. 31 July 1746. Dean of Guild Court Minutes. The magistrates pre-Michaelmas 1745 were authorised to act "untill a regular Magistry is established".

285. *Procurator Fiscal versus James Gow, merchant, and Thomas Dunlop, his wright*, Court Minutes, 17 August 1746.

286. *Petition of John Moubray, merchant*, 23 April 1753; the whole house consisted of shop, foreroom, kitchen, dark back room, closets, and garret and was possessed by a corkcutter. As well as repairing the front, the "wholly ruinous" lead windows were replaced with sash windows.

287. *Complaint of Francis Brodie wright*, 8 May 1751; known as the Spread Eagle tavern. Brodie was being hindered by his downstairs neighbour's sway and signboard which was fixed to the wall which he wished to remove - an unclassical background for Palladio's Head [see page ?].

288. *Petition of John Blackadder of St. Leonards*, 1755; with right by progress from Right Hon. James Earl of Hyndland to a piece of ground Gray's Close.

289. Dean of Guild Court Minutes, 7 August 1745; and a visit of inspection was ordered.

290. *Petition of Archibald Blair*, 1752.

291. *Petition of William Richardson*, 3 March 1756; purchased from Oliver Colt "on the south side of the Cowgate opposite Physicians Garden".

292. *Petition of John Home, coachmaker*, no date (13 June 1753, date of warrant); the four-storied tenement was on the east side of St. Mary's wynd immediately north of the entry leading to his own house and "James Norie's Painting room". A temporary new stair at the north west corner keeping within the bounds of his tenement to the north was allowed, but when this was also rebuilt (as intended), the stair was to be removed.

293. *Petition of George Aitken, smith*, 26 July and 8 September 1756.

294. "The east wall of a stone land, six stories high, on the north side of the Cross of Edinburgh, fell down from top to bottom, Sep.6; when, unhappily, Edward Reynolds, from Jamaica, apprentice to Mr. George Lauder, surgeon, while he was standing by the kitchen fire, was carried along with the ruins and crushed to death. Four others in company, but ata distance from the fire, happily observing the shock, escaped, as did several in the other flats, though not without danger. This unlucky accident has occasioned many tenements in the city and suburbs to be surveyed; and some of these are already condemned, and ordered to be taken down." Scots Magazine September 1751, quoted in Robert Chambers, *Traditions of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: 1825), p. 22.

295. *T.C.M.*, Volume 70, 6 May 1752.

296. ibid, 1 July 1752.

297. The committee appointed to consider the motion agreed it should be encouraged by contributions to its execution, but with the proviso that the building of the burrow room and the repository for the publick records should be carried on with "the utmost expedition". ibid, 4 July 1753.

298. ibid, 2 September 1752.

299. The first was bringing in an annual rent of £25 sterling in 1765 (*E.E.C.* 9 Jan. 1765), the second £40 sterling, and was possessed by Mr Sollicitor Montgomery in 1765 (*E.E.C.* 12 Jan. 1765), and the third £26/14/- and was possessed by Sir James Murray (*E.E.C.* 25 Dec. 1765). Lord Alemoor also lived in Niddry's Wynd at the time, on its west side in "a convenient house, all within itself... and within a plain stone court ..." (*E.E.C.* 2 Jan. 1765).

300. The Treasurer was authorised to purchase"in the most frugal manner such of the houses in Hart's close as the City deem to have immediate use for, **in order to enlarge the area intended for the use of their mercates**" (ibid, 5 Feb. 1752), then the Council made several purchases west of Halkerstone's Wynd "to **have an area for the Herb market**" (ibid, 15 April 1752). (My emphasis - both areas were eventually used for the North Bridge.)

301. In bundle dated August 1751, badly damaged front - the quotation is from a Complaint of 31 July 1751.

302. *E.E.C.*, 26 October 1747.

303. Ministers attending the play were prosecuted. The presbytery's case, supported by both Cumming and Webster against Carlyle a close friend of Home and a leader of the young more worldly set, was narrowly defeated. The Synod's appeal to the Assembly was also defeated, and the day after, an Act was passed forbidding the clergy "to countenance the theatre". Attitudes within the church were so changed that this was generally ignored; "manners are stronger than laws". Carlyle, p. 325 onwards.

304. *Assembly Minute Book*, No. 1, 5 February 1746.

305. For full description see, James Jamieson, "Social Assemblies of the Eighteenth Century", *B.O.E.C.*, vol. XIX, p. 31 onwards. The site was rejected as the underbuilding neccessary was considered too expensive.

306. Answer for Jean Ferguson and Archibald Ure, Goldsmith her husband in bundle contained in the *Act and warrand in favour of James Reid, Coachmaker in Canongate*, 27 April, 4 May 1748.

307. ibid.

308. *Petition of Neil McVicar merchant*, 22 March 1749.

309. *Petition of the Managers of the Orphan Hospital*, 8 August 1750.

310. *Petition of Baillie Alexander Scott merchant*, 6 November 1751.

311. *Petition of Edinburgh Lace Company*, 1755

312. *Petition of Robert Baillie merchant for himself and the Sugar Houses Company*, 1751.

313. *Petition of the Directors of the Bank of Scotland*, 1751; to its north was Mr. Little of Libbertoun's tenement, "a great part timber", on the west Charles Howison, wright's timber workhouse, on the south Francis Brodie, wright's warehouse and workhouse, and on the east "a few feet distant" the tenement belonging to the Bank of Scotland.

314. *Petition William Reoch wright*, 11 August 1749.

315. *Petition of Charles Howison wright*, 27 February 1751.

316. *E.E.C.*, 24 March 1747.

317. ibid, 28 June, 10 July, 1750.

318. *Petition of G. Cunninghame and W. Todd*, 1755.

319. *Petition of the Lord Barons of Exchequer*, 10 March 1756.

320. *Act and warrand in favour of James Lithgow, merchant*, 21 February 1750, 20 November 1751.

321. *Petition of Robert fferrier, stabler in Bristow Port*, 30 July 1755, amended 1756.

322. *Act and warrand pro James Reid, coachmaker in Canongate*, 27 April, 4 May 1748.

323. *E.E.C.*, 23 May 1751.

324. *Petition of Thomas Taylor*, 22 June 1757.

325. *Petition Robert Walker, tanner*, 1755; his property was adjacent to that of Robert Gibb, coachmaker, on the south, and James Boyd, stabler, on the west.

326. eg - "[Bute's]...bosom friends were three or four persons, whose different employments, such as, in a Scottish kirk, in the law, in the army, made them wholly ignorant of state affairs: but their conceit being equal to their ignorance, they undertook to assist this upstart pilot. With this regiment of Scottish Jacobites, Scottish poets, and a few English Tories, he [Bute] stormed all the public offices...In short, one can compare his conduct, on this occasion, to nothing more justly, than to that of an enraged and cruel enemy plundering a town which had cost him some trouble to take." Anon [John Almon?], *The History of The Late Minority. Exhibiting the Conduct, Principles, and Views, of That Party, During the Years 1762, 1763, 1764, and 1765.* third impression, London 1765, reprinted 1756.

327. No. 51 *North Briton*

328. eg: In Russia, Catherine II took power in 1762; in Austria Joseph II became co-regent with his mother Maria Theresa (1765), abolishing personal serfdom, reforming agriculture and the legal code, and imposing a centralised bureaucracy; and in Prussia Frederick threw his country into a massive programme of industrialisation. "Enlightened despots" were replacing the "ancien regime".

329. Letter from James Lawson to Alexander Hamilton, 31 January 1764, *Hamilton Papers*, Maryland Historical Society, Ms. 1301, quoted by S. G. Checkland, in *Scottish Banking A History, 1695-1973* (Glasgow and London: 1975), p.121.

330. Just before the act was passed, the Merchant Company complained of "inconveniencies arising from the variety of bank notes daily imposed on them in payments, by which they have either to delay to take payment of their accounts, or of accepting notes issued by private persons or companies in distant places of whose funds they know nothing".

331. Between 1764 and 1769 the Royal bank spent about £22,000 for its specie imports; the Royal bank's trading loss of 1771 blamed mostly on the "London Transaction in Specie and Bills of Exchange, by the want of which very large Sums have been Sunk..", quoted in Checkland, op.cit., p. 124.

332. In 1761, it was said that hardly any cash remained. See Charles Malcolm, *History of the Bank of Scotland* (1945), p. 57. The option clause of 1730 "either to pay on demand or in six months after demand with interest" to guard against runs on the bank, was re-adopted in 1762, till a bill of 1765 abolished the option "not only for the credit of the banks in Edinburgh but for the credit of the country" (*Scots Magazine*), ibid p. 64.

333. Sir William Forbes, *Memoirs of a Banking House*, (1859).

334. Checkland, op.cit., p. 125, quoting Ferguson to the Duke of Buccleuch, April 1773, NLS, Box 54.

335. The bank was founded by Douglas Heron and Company in 1769 with £150,000 capital. The Duke of Queensberry was appointed governor, the Duke of Buccleuch and the Earl of Dumfries were among the directors.

336. Checkland, p. 125.

337. see R. Somers, *Scottish Banks and Systems of Issue*, (Edinburgh: 1873), p. 103.

338. Boswell's *Journal*, 17th March 1776.

339. A few days before his resignation, Bute, as was the custom of the time, had made certain appointments: James Stuart McKenzie, his brother, became Keeper of the Privy Seal at £3,000 a year sterling; Alexander Fraser, his half-brother, and Sir Robert Menzies, his brother-in-law, became Commissioner of Trade or Police at £400 a year; and of two other brothers-in-law, one, John Campbell, became Head Collector of Stamps, and Lord of Session at £700 a year, and Courtnay, became the Commissary of Minorca at £800 a year. William Mure one of the barons of Exchequer and Inspector of Bute's private affairs had already become the Receiver General of Jamaica at £600 a year in 1761, John Home of "Douglas" fame had been made Conservator at Campvere (the staple port), a non-residential post with a pension of £300 a year, and Gilbert Elliot the younger of Minto had been appointed a lord of Treasury.

340. Quoted in Ferguson, p. 242.

341. *Memorial on the Present State of the Political Differences in the City of Edinburgh*, July 1763, Mure of Caldwell Papers, NLS, quoted by Checkland, op. cit., p. 104, note 23.

342. T. C. M., 4 Oct. 1763.

343. Checkland, p. 124, quoting *Memorial on the Present State of Political Differences* op. cit..

344. Craftsmen as well as Merchants were received as Guild-brethren, who had "liberty to use merchandice", after a decree-arbitral of James VI, in 1583, but the Magistrates and Office-bearers could come only from the ranks of merchants, and the Council itself consisted of ten merchants and eight craftsmen.

345. Their effective leader from 1760-80, Moderator Robertson, seems to have regarded the claims of congregations with a mixture of fear and contempt, see Ferguson, pp. 226, 227.

346. 100,000 were said to have left the established church by 1765, *Scots Magazine*, 27 May 1765, quoted in Sher, p. 130.

347. In John Witherspoon's satirical classification of a Moderate minister, which reflected some common perceptions, the fourth maxim, on preaching, says;

1. His subjects must be confined to social duties.
2. He must recommend them only from rational considerations viz., the beauty and comely proportions of virtue, and its advantages in the present life, without any regard to a future state of more extended self-interest.
3. His authorities must be drawn from heathen writers, **none**, or as few as possible, from Scripture.
4. He must be very unacceptable to the common people.

from "A Serious Apology for the Ecclesiastical Characteristics" (1763), in *The Works of John Witherspoon*, (Edinburgh, 1804-1805), 6:232, quoted in Sher, p. 57.

348. Hugo Arnot, *The History of Edinburgh from the Earliest Accounts to the Year 1780*, (Edinburgh: 1816 edition).

349. Thomas Somerville, *My Own Life and Times 1741 -1814*, (Edinburgh: 1861), p. 80. A "Schism Overture" was discussed by the General Assembly in May 1766, its object - "As the progress of the schism in the church is so very remarkable, and seems to be on the growing hand, as it is credibly affirmed that there are now 120 meeting-houses erected, to which more than 100,000

persons resort, who were formerly of our communion, but have now separated themselves from the Church of Scotland, and that the effect of this schism begin to appear, and are likely to take root in the greatest and most populous towns; it is humbly overtured that the venerable Assembly would take under their mature consideration this alarming evil, which hath so threatening an aspect to this church, to the interests of this church, and to the peace of the country; and that they would provide such remedies against this schism, as in their great wisdom they shall judge most proper." The debate was tied inextricably to the patronage question, and the overture was rejected.'

350. Half of the annual costs of the Charity work house came from a 2% tax levied on valued rents and half from profits of the Assembly, with the deficiency supplied by voluntary contributions. In debt for c.£500 in 1765, it was relieved by a grant from the Council. In the 1770s, with more poor because of war, a rising cost of food, and inadequate collection of stent, (a fixed rate, not according to need), it incurred a debt for £300, plus food bill, which was covered by agreed borrowing from the bank.

351. Given by Arnot as 1,800, including residents of hospitals, poorhouses, Leith and suburbs, (p. 433).

352. Law, op.cit., p. 29 and pp. 47-50.

353. Arnot, p. 325. Classes, 3 days a week from 3.0-7.0pm, at £1.1/- a quarter, were taken between 1760-67, by de la Cour, 1767-72, by Charles Pavillon, and 1772-86, by Alexander Runciman, at a salary of £120 a year. See Law, op. cit..

354. *E.E.C.*, 29 July 1765. He proposed to print his "30 Choice and Elegant Designs of Buildings" by subscription.

355. c90 inmates, 40 who lived out, Arnot p. 433.

356. Men and women 105, children 53. .

357. At a cost of between £11,000 and £1200 paid for by subscription with contributions of £5 or over securing the right to vote in electing a minister.

358. Arnot p. 230.

359. *Petition of William Dickson, dyer*, April 1765; on ground bought from William Jamieson, mason, lying just outside Potterrow port.

360. Both sub-divisions of the 1730s secession presbytery.

361. *Petition of William Dickson dyer*, 13 April 1768.

362. Arnot p. 217

363. Whitfield's "Occasion" at Cambuslang in 1742 had attracted a highly emotional crowd of around 20,000.

364. *Petition of Alexander Scoolar of Southfield* [owner of the property], Messrs. John Wesley late Fellow of Lincoln College, James Kershaw[?], and Christopher Hopper minister of the Gospel, for warrant to demolish tenement of land at the foot of Gibbs close and build a chapel in its place, 1764.

365. Petition of Alexander Nisbet, merchant, and others, Feb. 1764, July 1765.

366. W. Forbes Gray, "John Wesley in Edinburgh", *B.O.E.C.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 159-205.

367. eg; The stipend of the Highland kirk's minister was £70, the English chapel's priest £150. Both had a congregation of about one thousand, but the Highland kirk cost £700, and the chapel, though unfinished, £7,800.

368. The foundation stone was laid in 1771 by the free masons' grand master.

369. Letter of Lady Glenorchy to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, quoted in Arnot, p. 215.

370. Arnot, p. 218.

371. The Canongate playhouse changed owners in 1752, and the next few years were dogged by different managements and financial difficulties. The farcical outcome of a student riot led to the final acceptance of theatre going in law as it had been socially since the "Douglas" tragedy; the riot so severely damaged the property that the proprietors, then "certain judges of the Court of Session and other persons of distinction", raised an action for damages. Proceedings ground to a halt when the students' counter-action, that the proprietors were breaking the law by having plays acted in their house, left "hardly a quorum ... to decide the questions", as so many owners "were now raised to the Bench". Both actions were dropped, and play-going licensed.

372. For building, costumes and scenery, £2,500 was raised by subscription.

373. The original small aristocratic membership was expanding to include a higher proportion of minor gentry, merchants, and professionals, eg; due to "a great many Gentlemen of Distinction applying and few Vacancys", (among them Lord President Dundas and William Forbes, the banker,) the membership was increased by twenty to one hundred and seventy. *B.O.E.C.*, Vol. XIX, p. 225.

374. Fleming, op.cit., p. 126.

375. Arnot, p. 291.

376. *Petition of James Ramsay, sclater*, 24 July 1765; "..has warrant to build on area within head of Bell's wynd, but has now agreed with Mr. William Douglas for himself and the other Managers of the Edinburgh Assembly to dispose of the said area for them to build". *Decree of Cognition in favour of William Douglas*, 11 January 1769; accounts [1768] for new building on west side of Bell's Wynd communicating with the Assembly house (total cost £309).

377. "The setting up of an Academy for Riding is an excellent design, A few more of such institutions will render Edinburgh the Athens of Britain, where ... young gentlemen will be initiated in the principles of useful Knowledge... at the same time exercised in all the liberal accomplishments which qualify a man to appear in the distinguished sphere of life", letter from Alan Ramsay to Sir Alexander Dick, 31 January 1762, quoted in *B.O.E.C.*, Vol. XX, p. 112.

378. eg; the Duke of Buccleuch, the Earls of Rosebery and Cassilis, law lords Robert McQueen (Braxfield), David Rae (Esgrove), bankers James Coutts, William Forbes, and William Alexander, and Henry Dundas.

379. Among other services, Alexander sent "A Credit to Portugal for Two Hundred Pounds in order to purchase Spanish Horses for the Manage".

380. Quoted in *B.O.E.C.*, Vol. XX, p. 117.

381. Though Saint Cecilia's pre-dates the extension of the regality, the directors were well aware of its imminence and could have postponed their plans for four or five more years.

382. Arnot, p.219.

383. Arnot, p. 511.

384. *A Sermon preached by Claudero on the Condemnation of the Nether Bow Porch of Edinburgh, 9th July 1764, before a crowded audience.*

385. *Complaint of the City Treasurer and Procurator fiscal against George Campbell, wright*, 1763. (Campbell successfully argued that the wall was his, separate from the town's in his appeal of 2 August 1763.)

386. *Petition of Robert Mailer, journeyman mason*, 17 September 1768.

387. "Whereas, it has been found by experience, that the Pavementing and Palling the Streets, in different parts within the City of **Edinburgh** and Suburbs, has tended very much to the improvement of property, and to the convenience of the Public; and considering, that the Grass-Market Street is one of the best in the City, and that it would be both useful and ornamental, if the North-Side thereof, leading from the Bow-Foot to the Town-Wall, was to be pavemented and palled..". The work was estimated at about 300l. sterling (12 June 1762). By the time the north side of the High Street, from Writers to Mills Court, was being relaid in 1776, the court was specifying "hard craig Leith stone..the pavement not under four inches thick and gutter stone not under seven inches".

388. The only possible objectors were said to be those who had made entries to get their carriages and horses in off the avenue, which were "sometimes hurtful to the Hospital boys and to the Ladies Gentlemen Children and Others for whose pleasure and amusement these [gardens] were originally intended". *Petition of the Town Treasurer and Procurator fiscal*, 13 September 1762; the bridge was to be replaced by a scale stair.

389. Fishers close - *Petition of Charles Howison, wright*, 9 April 1766. Petition of the Heritors of Todrigs Wynd, 1768, in *Scroll Act and Warrand in favour of James Ramsay and others*, 15 March 1769. Stephenlaws Close - *Petition of James Tait, wright and others*, 30 November 1774, and *Petition of Robert Bruce, sclater and others*, 1776. Fairholms Close - *Petition of James Hardie, writer, and William Trotter, merchant*, 7 April 1773; the booth's owner lived in Jamaica, and it was possessed by his deceased uncle's wife.

390. *Objection for Alexander Earl of Galloway, Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, Dr. David Clerk, Physician, John McKenzie of Delvin, WS, and Alexander Peters, wright, in answer to Petition of Nicol Craig, at present residing at London*, 2 June 1762, and *Complaint of Procurator Fiscal against James Brown, wright*, 1763; Brown was fined £10 sterling and £5 expenses and ordered to put the street back as formerly.

391. *Caledonian Mercury*, 2 July 1763.

392. In February, the trustees were reported to prefer the plans of David Henderson (*E.E.C.* 20 Feb. 1765), but Milne's design was eventually chosen by the Bridge Committee (of which Mylne was a member) assisted by "several other Noblemen and Gentlemen of knowledge and taste in architecture". (*T.C.M.*, 20 Feb. 1765.)

393. "Edinburgh" entry, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, first edition, 1768.

394. "concimmitas universarum partium", Alberti.

395. Crux of the argument for the rebuilding of S. Petronio, Bologna, 1587, quoted by Rudolf Wittkower, *Gothic versus Classic*, p. 67.

396. eg: Alexander Gerard, *Essay on Taste*, 1759; Francis Hutcheson, *Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue*, 1725; David Hume, *Of the Standard of Taste*, one of four dissertations, 1757; Lord Kames, *Elements of*

Criticism, 1762; and Archibald Alison, *Essays on the Nature and Principals of Taste*, 1790.

397. *E.E.C.*, 30 Sept. 1746. In the *Petition of Mrs. Robertson, relict of Baillie William Robertson, merchant*, 1751, in answer to Mrs Robertson's charge that all the proprietors and possessors of Patersons land were "throwing fowel water from windows", a Reid's land proprietor stated he had "bought a little back house from Dr. Young in 1748/9, now set at 40/- year to Philip Page, journeyman wright."

398. eg from Boswell's *Journal*, Thomas Young dined with Boswell and Sir Alexander Dick at Prestonfield [28 Oct, 19 Nov 1774], with Boswell, Lord Grange, Lady Preston, after delivering Boswell's son[9 oct 1775], and took tea with John Maclaurin and Sir William Forbes at Boswell's [5 Jan 1776].

399. Eg: one isolated house in itself and garden was held by 7 year tack by Robert Still, writer, and could be assumed to be low in height, and good accommodation in good condition; the dilapidated five storey tenement of the deceased Mrs. Hyres, with gardens to south and east, and area to north brought in a total rent of only £8/13/- for twelve houses or shops, therefore must have provided small and poor accommodation. Olivers Land lay a few houses to the west after the former "mansion of the Earls of Angus" in which the Air bank set up office, (Wilson, pp. 284 - 90), and a house, "all within itself" and garden between Monroe's and Seton's Close, of seven rooms, kitchen, etc., was possessed in 1765 by the Countess of Caithness at an annual rent of £30 sterling (*E.E.C.*,23 Dec. 1765). To the east lay Jack's Land (Mrs. Eliz. Jack liferentrix, 1765), then Maitlands Land (owned by Isobel and Margaret Maitland), then the mansion once belonging to General Dalziel (Wilson, p. 290) whose former chapel in the open court was demolished in 1779.

400. *Petition of Miss Elizabeth Conde*, 1763; the owner of half of the tenement west of building being carried out by Dr. Young who has taken down houses east of her property already and intends demolishing more, requesting a visit of inspection. *Petition of Dr. Young*, 1764; for permission to pull down the north part of the ruinous tenement formerly belonging to the heirs of Thomas Robertson.

401. *Petition of Dr. Young*, 18 June 1764; a proposal to build west of his new house.

402. *Petition of Dr. Young*, July 1765]; he had "purchased from Mr. Colquhoun Grant WS and other trustees of the deceased Mrs. Hyres" a ruinous tenement and areas, and was requesting they be valued and declared a preferable debt on the subjects. (Rent amounted to £8/13/- for 12 houses and shops). *Petition of Robert Still, writer*, 26 August 1765; Still was the possessor of a house and garden said to be in tack for 7 years from the deceased Alexander Seton, now the property of Mr Buxon Grant, but which had actually become the property of Doctor Young. *Petition of Hugh Kinloch, taylor*, 28 June 1769; he had lately purchased from Dr, Young "a large old timber land originally called Seatons Land a little above Young street".

403. *Petition of Sir James Dunbar of Mochram*, 1765; a piece of ground 80 feet south to north, 94 feet east to west, for erecting two lodgings and office houses in a garden adjacent to Young's new building. *Petition of Charles and William Butters, wrights*, 22 May 1765; a garden, 57 feet south to north, 94 feet east to west, immediately south of the house being built by Sir James Dunbar of Mochram's, to build houses. *Petition of George Stevenson, wright and Thomas McInnes, mason* 1766, and 9 July 1766; a piece of ground north of Young's lodging, north and opposite Sir James Dunbar's two houses, to erect houses. *Petition of Dr. James Hay, physician*, 6 July 1768; a piece of ground to the west side of Young's houses, adjacent to the back entry to his own house on the south, bounded by street to east, his property on north, to build coach house and stables. *Petition of Robert Mailler, journeyman mason*, 17 Sept. 1768; a piece of ground adjacent to the road upon north back at foot of Calton hill, for houses. *Petition of Miss Bettie Suttie, sister to Sir Geo. Suttie of Balgown*, 6 Sept. 1769; an area fronting Young Street immediately

north of Dr. Hay's office house, to build a house. *Petition of Robert Mailler, mason in Canongate*, 1 June 1770; an area at the foot of New street, to build a tenement. *Petition of James Braidwood, mason in Canongate*, 6 Feb. 1770; an area at the foot of New street, to build a tenement. *Petition of Robert Whitehead, wright in Canongate*, 6 Feb. 1770; an area at the foot of New street, to build a tenement. *Petition of Robert Wilson, mason*, 20 March 1771; lately feued from John Grant, Baron of Exchequer, a large area on the west side of street by his house, to build tenement. *Petition of Michael Nasmith, wright*, 27 April 1772; an area belonging to him fronting Young street, to build a tenement.

404. *E.E.C.* 4 Feb. 1767.

405. *Complaint of William Barrowmam, wright, against Dr. Thomas Young*, 1766.

406. *Petition of Dr. Young*, 29 July 1767 - see also note 75.

407. Chambers (1825 edition), p. 43.

408. Among other crimes he bit off an opponent's nose in one of Edinburgh's markets, had to flee to England after being found guilty of raping a miller's wife in Haddington, and was said to have won most of his great fortune at cards, including the estates of New Mills, Stonneyhill, and Carron house.

409. see David Lord Elcho, *A Short Account of the Affairs of Scotland*, (re-pub. 1913).

410. From a list of heritors sharing expense of pinning, pointing, and harling repairs in *Petition of Charles Mack*, 20 April 1757.

411. "The ruinous tenement and perts. in ... close immediately west of the City Reservoir lately purchased from the Hon. Francis Charteris of Amisfield", (*Petition of John Davidson, WS*, 4 May 1757). Also there was a Charteris Close at Canongate foot, but no connection has yet been found.

412. *Petition for the Honourable Francis Charteris of Amisfield*, 9 July 1766.

413. *Complaint of Grierson against Paterson and Gowans*, 10 Sept. 1766.

414. Chambers (1825 edition), p.41. The Earl of Aboyne also was in possession of a house in 1773 (*E.E.C.*, 20 Dec.1773).

415. A visit was ordered to the house being built at head of Canongate by Archibald Chessels, on ground he claimed but whose ownership was in question. *Minutes* from the Dean of Guild court, 4 Sept. 1745.

416. Advertised for sale, *E.E.C.*, 14 Nov. 1751.

417. Chessels may have been fully occupied outwith the city, as on Hamilton parish kirk under the direction of William Adam, 1746-48; from extracts from the *Hamilton Papers*, Lennoxlove, Ex NRA(S)2177/F1/873, quoted by John Lowrey, "Exhibition Review", *Architectural Heritage I* (Edinburgh: 1990), p. 119.

418. There are enormous bundles of complaints relating to Chessels throughout the mid to late 1760s, too numerous to detail. As merely an example, in 1764 complaints of structural damage followed his taking down and rebuilding the tenement adjacent to Pierie's, and the Procurator fiscal complained of his encroachments on the High Street; in 1765, having bought the area adjacent to Thomsons or Montgomeries Land, he was accused of risking their foundations, he encroached on the property of Scott, and he was involved in an argument with the Weslyites over rights to property on the east and west sides of Gibbs Close.

419. *Petition of Helen Chessels and others*, 8 May 1771.

420. *E.E.C.*, 9 Feb. 1760.

421. *Petition of the Rt. Hon. Lady Charlotte Gordon, Sir William Maxwell from Monreith, William Drummond of Callender*, all tenants of new houses in Canongate belonging in Property to Helen Chessels alias Scott, spouse of James Scott merchant, daughter of the deceased Archibald Chessels, 27 August 1770. *Petition of the trustees of the deceased Mr. Archibald Chessels, wright*, 1770.

422. eg, both James Boswell and Lord Fife's factor amongst others.

423. Three new houses on "Mr. Adams Area ... all within themselves from top to bottom", with sunk areas in front, coal and ash cellars under the street or coach way, and back yards, that could have either a stable for four horses, and a coach-house along with them, or not "as the purchaser may incline" were for sale in 1765 (*E.E.C.*, 5 Jan. 1765).

424. *Petition of John Adam, architect*, 1 July 1761; Adam had a warrant of 24 March 1760 to erect a building on the west side of his area in Cowgate (plan missing), and had since acquired various tenements and subjects between his area and Hasties Close and proposed to place the building further west to a new plan (also missing). *Petition of Rt. Hon. Lord President, Lord Gray, Lord Kaimes, Mr. Charles St Clar and Mr. Robert Chalmers, John Adam architect, acting for petitioners*, Sept. 1765; the petitioners had applied for a pipe of water to be brought from the Cistern at the Society to a cistern to be erected on their property in Hasties Close over the top of an old well. *Petition and Complaint of William Wemyss WS against John Adam, architect, David Campbell WS, Patrick Crawford WS*, 28 June 1766; the families and servants of John Adam and others were throwing "Nuisance and Dirty Water" from the windows of their respective properties in 1766, damaging the property of William Wemyss, another WS. *Petition of John Adam architect*, 24 Feb. 1767; Adam intended to erect a building east side Hasties Close.

425. *Petition of Rt. Hon. Henry Lord Borthwick*, 1771.

426. *Petition of John Caitchen, carver in Portsburgh, and James Smellie, merchant in Portsburgh*, 13 Feb 1770. *Petition of Alexander Peacock, mason*, 17 Nov. 1772; at the request of John Caitcheon he had rebuilt the stone work of that "great tenement of land known as Hunters Land, west of Horse Wynd. *Petition of John Caitcheon*, 6 Sept. 1775; to rebuild a ruinous wright shop at the back of his new building.

427. The Town had applied for permission to build on the areas and ruins where the Council Chamber and Burgh Room formerly stood on the south of Parliament Close in 1766, but the proposal appears to have been abandoned. Undated document, Box 1764/5 miscellaneous; "The Magistrates and Town Council having now purchased all areas back of Parliament house where the Burrow room etc formerly stood consisting of ...an area 57'x 23' with two houses, an area 54'x 21', an area 52'x 29'. They are now inclined to receive proposals from architects and others who incline to purchase immediately upon these areas which be all adjacent to one another..The toun intends to reserve only one story of the largest for a Burrow room." and, *Petition of the Good Toun of Edinburgh* (Hogg, the City Treasurer), 26 March 1766.

428. It had been partially rebuilt while being repaired in the early fifties. Its fourth storey, up for sale in 1746 at £19 sterling, had consisted of seven rooms and five closets (*E.E.C.*, 17 Feb. 1746). In 1773, the fourth storey was again for sale, now described as having a drawing room 18x19ft. square and 13ft. high, a dining room, five other fire rooms, kitchen, a cellar "and many other conveniences" (*E.E.C.*, 3 Feb.1773).

429. *Petition of James Stoddart, merchant*, 30 April 1766.

430. *Petition of D Robertson, smith,* 2 July 1766 [126].

431. *Associated representation of James Armour WS,* in the Mary Kings Close documents of 1752; the house, third storey from the turnpike entering from Writers Court was "lately possessed by Baillie Alexander Kincaid. *Petition of Alexander Kincaid, H.M. printer,* 14 May 1765; Kincaid was the proprietor of the great stone tenement on the south side of the Cowgate "with haill close belonging opposite Kirkheugh", which was being used by the adjacent proprietors tenants "for whins, brooms, and other combustible stuff". *Petition of Alexander Kincaid Esq., H.M. printer and stationer for Scotland,* 6 Nov. 1770; take down and rebuild some ruinous houses a little to the west of fishmarket Close, next to Reoch's Land. *Petition of Alexander Kincaid Esq., H.M. printer and stationer for Scotland,* 20 July 1770; in demolishing the west part of two and a half tenements, the property belonging to P. Sibbald wright J. Hunter surgeon and A. Chalmers shoemaker in London was put in danger of falling, and was ordered to be taken down too.

432. Fishmarket Close itself had an association with printing which had begun in 1713 when Agnes Campbell, the widow of H.M. printer Andrew Anderson, erected a printing house towards the head of the close (see *Ext. T.C.M.,* 8 April 1681, 31 July 1713). During the remodelling of the Royal Bank's property (Dicks then Lord Arnistons Land) in 1751 and '66, also formerly owned by Agnes Campbell and sharing Andersons Land's gable, her heirs were still much in evidence. (Obligation of William Adam, 1745, in *Petition of the Royal Bank,* 16 April 1766; Robert Arniston disponed to John Dundas WS, his lodging or dwelling house, second storey above the Printing house in that great tenement of land lately built and erected by the deceased Agnes Campbell relict of Andrew Anderson H.M. Printer - bounded by fish mercate close on east, the fishmercate on south, ruinous tenements called Kirkheugh and the tenement and area sometime belonging to Paterson of Caverhill on west, and the tenement of land sometime belonging to Cant of Hisland then William Hamilton of Little Earnoch and area and close called Back of Fishmercat close on north.) A list of heirs is given in a *Complaint against the Royal Bank,* August 1751.

433. *Petition of Andrew and William Good wrights,* 23 Oct 1770; proprietors and possessors of ruinous houses in fishmarket Close belonging to the deceased William Turnbull's heirs (disponed 1728) - take down and rebuild after concluding gable disagreement with Robert Cumming shipmaster, proprietor of two tenements immediately south. *Petition of Robert Cumming late Shipmaster in Leith,* 28 April 1773; proprietor of an old tenement of land at and within foot of fishmarket Close - take down and rebuild. *Petition of Patrick Neal printer,* 17 July 1771; who "lately purchased from George Weir of Birkwood and William Rommanno merchant in Dalkeith" an old ruinous tenement of land on east side fishmercate Close. *Petition of John Simpson taylor,* 22 May 1771; the proprietor of the back tenement of land in fflemings Close, foot of fishmarket Close whose roofing was defective, "and to indemnify me in part for the expense I propose raising the wall 6 or 7 ft and putting on a new roof".

434. In the scarcity of 1741, John Coutts, dealer in grain and Provost from 1742-44, was accused of hoarding stocks to increase the price, and forced to flee the city. Due to the growing power of the bank he founded, his son was able to force Maitland to substitute a paragraph praising Coutts' efforts to cope with the dearth in place of the less admirable reality. Marguerite Wood, *The Lord Provosts of Edinburgh,* (Edin.: 1932), pp. 68, 69.

435. *Petition of the City Treasurer and Procurator fiscal,* 1764.

436. op cit, Petition of the Heritors and Indwellers in the Grassmercate, in *Petition of the Town Treasurer and Procurator fiscal,* 1762.

437. Wilson, op cit, pp. 342, 343.

438. *Petition of James Thomson, merchant,* 4 August 1762; he had a decree of adjudication against David Millar surgeon of Westmoreland in Jamaica on houses and others pertaining to the petitioner in the Grassmarket a little to the west of Bowfoot on the north side of the street, in much disrepair, so wished to rebuild and declare the cost a preferable debt on the property. He himself was the proprietor of the shop below the tenement and the tenement immediately to the west.

439. *List of the Possessors Names and Valuation of their Rents from the Boughts North side Grassmarcet to foot of the West Bow,* 12 June 1762 (see Appendix III).

440. *Petition of James Lithgow,* 13 and 20 June 1750; he had warrand to take down some old houses north side of the Grassmarket, west of "ane old house belonging to Deacon Veitch, glazier, east of some houses belonging to the Hamilton heirs. *Act in favour of James Lithgow,* 21 Feb. 1750; to take down and rebuild some ruinous houses and yards pertaining to William Robertson, beltmaker, on the west side of Castle Wynd, bought at publick roup on the 23rd of Jan. 1749 for £217 sterling. *Act and Warrand in favour of James Lithgow, merchant,* 20 nov 1751; he had built two tenements, one bought from the representatives and creditors of William Robertson and the other from James Veitch, glazier, and has also rebuilt stabling and other office houses for a publick Inn; now he wanted to rebuild the yard dykes on the same foundations.

441. *Petition of John Howison, writer,* 6 Feb 1770; as the proprietor of two tenements of houses "called east and west Temple tenements", at the foot of the east side of Castle Wynd, fronting the Grassmarket, possessed by D. Baine, merchant, John Buchanan, stabler, and Robert Dott reedmaker, which were presently ruinous and "supported by a beam or joist fixed in the opposite tenement belonging to Mr. Dott", and which he wished to take down and "build in line with the tenement of houses to the west belonging to Mr. Dott and Mr Paxton". *Petition of Robert Dott, Reedmaker, and John Howison, writer,* 26 July 1771; intending to build cellars and a small house on their waste area, at the west side of the head of Castle Wynd. (Papers include the *Petition of John Paxton, innkeeper;* his back yard had Entry "out of mind" from Castle Wynd, but Howison's new building has made entry almost inaccessible.) *Complaint of Davidson, treasurer of the S.P.C.K.S,,* 10 Feb. 1772; Howison's tenement had undermined the foundations of the Highland Kirk, and he was ordered to take down or move the new building, to pay £20 scots expenses, and £50 sterling and £20 sterling to Davidson for repairs within 15 days.

442. *Petition of George Sinclair, wright, and Isobele Sinclair his daughter,* 17 April 1770, and *Petition of Robert Allan, Brewer,* 16 May 1769, and 27 May 1772.

443. *Petition of Mrs Selkrig, widow of the deceased Robert Selkrig, merchant,* 1765; that her small tenement on the south side of the West Bow immediately below the waste area had been a long time out of repair in the roof, "and since it lost the Support of the Tenement to the north" had gradually begun to lean and fall over. (She was ordered to remove the roof by 12am the next day.) *Scroll Act and Warrand in favour of William Trotter, merchant and late Baillie,* 25 Feb. 1773; to take down and rebuild the defective, hazardous, and dangerous, south gable of a tenement at the head of the Bow possessed by the petitioner and others. *Petition of Patrick Sibbald, wright,* 28 April 1773; to rebuild a tenement of houses in the West Bow of which he was proprietor. *Complaint of the Procurator fiscal,* 8 Feb. 1774; that the land and tenement of houses belonging to John Hunter, apothecary, in Cairns Close at the foot of the West Bow was insufficient, hazardous and dangerous and should be taken down within six weeks within 6 weeks at the penalty of £500 scots.

444. *Petition of Duncan Drummond, wright,* 19 March 1766.

445. *Petition of William Smith, mason and James Goodwin, flax dresser,* 18 March 1772; lately purchased from Good Toun the front area on the south side of the West Bow about the middle, formerly belonging to the heirs of Robert Veitch, shoemaker and others.

446. *Petition of James Gibsone, surgeon, and William Horseburgh* [nephews and] co-heirs of the late Baillie John Jack, slater, 1755. *Petition of Mrs. Elizabeth Jack, relict of John Jack, slater,* life residenter of several tenements commonly called Jack's land, 26 June 1765.

447. *Petition of John Ramsay, wright in Canongate,* 9 March 1763.

448. *Petition of James Ramsay, sclater,* 26 March 1766. (The area had been bought from Horseburgh). *Complaint of Agnes Miller relict of James Miller, baker in Canongate against James Ramsay, slater,* 6 August 1766; Ramsay's new building at the foot of the close was encroaching on her property. A design very similar to the double dwelling was submitted by Michael Nasmith in 1772 for a site west of the close, at the east of Young street behind Lord Kaimes' property; with only one fire vent shown it would have been a very poor house for its time, and is incongruous in such a prestigious site (Petition of Michael Nasmith, wright, 27 April 1772).

449. *Petition of James Ramsay, sclater,* 14 May 1763.

450. *Petition of Andrew Hogg brewer in Canongate,* 14 Feb. 1763, 9 March 1763, 6 August 1766.

451. *Petition of James Ramsay, mason in Canongate and William Sinclair wright in Crosscassey,* 20 Feb 1765; they proposed to build (but the land with unused warrant had been sold to William McConochie, wright, by 1767).

452. *Complaint of James Ramsay, mason in Canongate, against the Marquis of Lothian,* 18 Sept. 1766.

453. *Petition of James Ramsay, mason in Canongate,* 14 April 1762; the tenements had been "lately purchased" from the Incorporation of Baxters in Canongate.

454. *Petition of James Ogilvie, shoemaker in Leith wynd,* 13 Feb. 1765.

455. Drawing submitted with the petition of William Wright and James Keddie, 10 June 1772, (documents missing).

456. *Petition of Alexander Mitchell, baker in Canongate,* 23 January 1775.

457. *Petition of James Ramsay, mason in Canongate,* 9 April 1766.

458. *Petition of Mrs. Ann Ramsay, relict of Charles Ramsay, surgeon, and Mary Sellers,* both daughters of the deceased William Sellers, writer, 20 July 1768; they proposed converting the whole of their brewery, malt barm and perts. on the west side of Potterrow, lately possessed by Robert Mundale, brewer, into dwelling houses, and needed to raise some walls and make new windows and vents (chimneys).

459. *Petition of Adam Watson, cowfeeder,* 3 August 1768.

460. *Petition of James Mckele, hookmaker in Leith Wynd,* 9 Sept. 1772.

461. *Petition of David Mathieson, wright in Portsburgh,* 12 August 1762.

462. On the 5th of August, his body was taken from his lodging at the foot of Canongate for burial.

463. *Petition of the Marquis of Lothian*, 23/5 June 1766; to take down and rebuild the gable of his house, "in very Crazie Condition", contiguous to his lodging, (lately possessed by Colonel Nixon).

464. *Petitions of the Marquis of Lothian*, 15 May 1765, 2 Sept. 1765, for permission to build, also 19 Sept. 1765 (with Wm. Miller, seedsman), as joint proprietors of ruins and areas.

465. *Petition of the Marquis of Lothian*, 2 Sept 1765; for deeds of a piece of ground formerly belonging to Bartholomew Gibson, H.M. Master Herrier, with malt barn and haill other houses built thereon, lately purchased from Jacobina Ross daughter of the deceased James Ross, merchant.

466. *Petition of the Marquis of Lothian*, 13 August 1766; the court was asked to order Ramsay to take down a dangerous chimney stack over a narrow passage in Chancellors Close. *Complaint of James Ramsay, mason in Canongate, against the Marquis of Lothian*, 18 Sept. 1766; Ramsay disputed the ownership of dykes and cellars which the Marquis was demolishing, Ramsay complaining as "proprietor of the back land of the east tenement of the chapel of the virgin Mary lying at the end of the church of the monastery of the holycross of old possessed by John Eiston vicar of the said monastery lying near the foot of the canongate on the south side", a description to cause gratitude for present house numbering.

467. *Complaint of Francis Brodie against the Marquis of Lothian*, 4 March 1772.

468. *Petition of the Marquis of Lothian*, 13 Nov. 1773.

469. *Petition of John Callendar Esq.*, 1763.

470. "The Counsel conforme to the late Act of Parliament against rebells subscryved two precepts for infesting the good toun in the property two lodgeings in the Canongate.." *Ext. T.C.M.*, 10 August 1716, p. 319.

471. *Petition of John Callendar Esq.*, 21 Aug 1765.

472. In the sale notice of 1767, the house was described in detail. It had a kitchen and scullery, with stove holes and a "leaden pipe for conveying foul water", a housekeeper's room, servants' hall, room for men servants, a larder lighted from the north, inner cellar with racks, and an inner coal house, all on the undermost or half-sunk storey; on the parlour storey, it contained a large well lighted lobby, a dining parlour "handsomely painted" with a marble chimney, a back parlour or writing room, "fit also for a bed room", with venetian window, marble chimney, and light-closet, a housekeeper's closet, presses adjacent to the parlour "for plate and china, and the butler's use"; on the second storey were a drawing room with a large marble chimney piece, the principal bed chamber, with a chimney "of beautiful Italian marble", with an adjacent large, well lighted closet above which was a large "intersole" entered from the stair which served as a lumber room; in the attic were two large bed-chambers, each with a large closet capable of holding a "field2 bed, and a bed-chamber with a lighted closet; lastly in the garrets were two bed rooms, one of which had a lighted closet (*E.E.C.*, 4 July 1767).

473. *Petition of John Callendar*, 13 May 1767; accounts for his new house immediately north of Gilbert Duncan's new built tenement. *Petition of Gilbert Duncan*, 7 Sept 1768; accounts for his new tenement. *Petition of Sir William Augustus Cunynghame of Livingston Bart.*, 31 May 1769.

474. *Petition of George Hunter, mason, George Wilson, mason, and Peter Ramsay, stabler*, 1 May 1764 (no documents). In a sale notice of 1767, the building is described as the "eastmost pavilion of Winton's Area fronting the street" consisting of two lodgings of two storeys each and entering seperately. There was a "genteel hanging stair" in the uppermost lodging (*E.E.C.*, 24 Jan. 1767).

Petition of 21 August 1765; lately purchased from Alex Forsyth coachmaker in London the back court of his close of buildings. He had "in view to take down said coach houses and stables and build several dwellings", on east of Craigforths and Duncans, west of Wintons, and Miss Alexanders at front, and north of Forsyths land.

475. *Petition of James Blair brewer in Abbey*, 29 May 1769; he proposed to build on the area of a ruinous backhouse, lately purchased with the tenement of land and waste ground, from James Bowie merchant, with Mallachies close on the west, Callendar on east, Blairs gavel on south, John Muirs gavel on north.

476. *Petition of Duncan Drummond*, 9 July 1766; he intended to build two houses on an area, lately purchased from Alexander Alison Deputy Cashier of Excise, north of two tenements lately built by Hunter and Wilson commonly known as the Earl of Wintons area, in bundle with the Petition of the Hon. John Grant Baron of Exchequer who had lately purchased from Mr. Callendar of Craigforth an area of some old houses immediately east and adjacent to his new built lodging at the foot of Canongate.

477. *Petition of Hugh Dalrymple of ffordel*, 10 June 1772, and *Petition of John Pringle, W.S.*, 9 June 1762.

478. *Petition and Complaint of John Stobie, writer*, 1761; claiming damages from the owner of the house above in Gosfords close, possessed by Rt. Hon. the Lord Belhaven.

479. They possessed the third storey of the front land (Wilson, p. 180). Tweedale house had various tenants, and in 1791 became the office of the British Linen Bank (Charles A. Malcolm, *The History of the British Linen Bank* (Edinburgh: 1950), p. 79.

480. *Petition of Thomas Rigg of Morton*, 20 April 1774.

481. Brodie, as the tenant of Little, is said to have submitted a plan to build a workroom 68ft. south of the bank, and a warehouse 27ft. further off (no date). The Directors of the Old Bank contributed £15 towards Brodies expenses in dividing the slopes into terraces connected by stone stairs in 1740 (Malcolm, p.207).

482. James Grant, *Old and New Edinburgh*, (London: 1880), p. 119.

483. *Petition of Alan Ramsay, limner in London*, 3 July 1765; to build "two houses with common wall, 60ft east to west, and 39ft. south to north, the front coming out as far south as the southernmost part of his washing house now possessed by Mr, Nairn.. the west gavel to be placed where the west gavel of the Bell house now stands". They were to be three storeys and garrets above ground to south with a sunk storey (no drawings).

484. *Petition of William Mylne, architect*, 8 July 1767; on ground feud from the Incorporation of Surgeons.

485. *Petition of James Tait, Depute Town clerk and Wm Jameson, mason*, 24 April 1765; co-proprietors of ground "at the foot of Lady Stairs close lately purchased from Elizabeth McDowell alias Baird relict of Thomas Baird, wright, sometime pert. to Sir William Gray of Pittendrum, merchant, with house built thereon by deceased Mr. William Aikman of Cairney". They also applied to the town council for a piece of ground (50ft north to south) outwith their east dyke to extend the length of their building as far as the west side of uppermost Baxters close "at present a waste and a perfect nuisance".

486. Mrs Elinor Hamilton, relict of John Murray of Philiphaugh.

487. *Petition of John Learmonth, merchant*, 8 June 1763.

488. Only the drawing remains, the petition itself is missing.

489. *Petition of Alexander Brown, merchant,* for Miss Clarks, David Law, Tacksman of Inverleith Parks, and James Murray, merchant, 26 April 1771; the Procurator fiscal had ordered the front part to be taken down as insufficient. *Decree of Cognition of William Johnstone, mason and others,* 9 Sept. 1772; accounts for the rebuilding of the two uppermost storeys and roofing, Merchiston's land.

490. *Complaint of Sir John Stewart of Allanbank Baronet and Robert Gray Procurator Fiscal for his interest against James Stirling, stocking weaver,* 1766.

491. *Petition and Complaint for Mrs Helen Chessels against Andrew Lauder, candlemaker and soapboiler,* 1775.

492. *Act of Council for building tripe market;* 17 March 1762.[90]

493. *Petition of John Adam,* 8 July 1761, *Petition of James Tait, wright,* and *Complaint of the Corporation of Baxters,* 1763.

494. *Petition of Thomas Heriot, wright,* September 1765.

495. *Petition for Elias and William Scott, plumers,* 24 December 1766.

496. Most of the buildings immediately behind the front lands appear to have been quite low; in a petition of 1755, the widow, children and creditors of Thomas Fairholm of Pilton, who had rights to the tenements of land between Allan's and Craig's Close had complained that the proprietors of the low tenements to the west of Allans Close intended to replace them with a "very high house" and to encroach "considerably" into Allan's Close therefore asked that the breadth between the two tenements should be increased. (*Petition of Thomas Cockburn WS factor for Mrs Margaret Balfour,* 23 July 1755.)

497. *Petition of Thomas Brown, flesher,* 11 September 1770.

498. Somerville, op.cit., p. 72. "Between nine and ten o'clock before noon, Aug. 12, a dreadful fire broke out ... in a workhouse belonging to Mr. William Reoch, cabinet-maker, Carrubers' Close. Before any assistance could be got, the workhouse was all in a flame, which soon burst with great violence through the roof, and communicated with the adjacent buildings. For two hours the flames threatened destruction to all around; but, by the care of the magistrates, the activity of the firemen and other workmen, the use of several engines, and the assistance of the soldiers of the city guard, and a detachment of the military from the castle, the fire was got so far confined about noon, that there was little hazard of its spreading further ...Four tenements. in which about fifteen families resided, are entirely burnt down, and several others are considerably damaged. Happily, no lives were lost." *Scots Magazine,* vol. XX. p. 388.

499. He eventually gained permission on condition that his five former windows were built-up (unless the use changed from shop to house), that "an iron slider [was fitted] on the mouth of ..vents", that he abandoned his intention to rebuild a kiln, and that the building was roofed with slate or tile (*Jedge and Warrand in favour of William Reoch, wright and glass grinder,* 1764).

500. *Petition of Charles Dickson and James Besillie, masons in Bristo,* 19 July 1775; the shop was to be built in a "little flower garden" to the north of a house lately demolished by the petitioners.

501. *Petition of Robert Hamilton, merchant*, 1760. On inspection it was found to conform to the elevation submitted to the court, a misunderstanding caused by the difficulty of numbering stories on such steep slopes. In 1761, James Reikie, wright, bought the partly ruinous, partly demolished tenement of land on the east side of Halkerstone's Wynd, immediately south of the demolished tenement of Thomas Miln, mason. Though he intended to rebuild the south gable to a greater thickness, the existing front wall was found to be sufficient to support a maximum of only four storeys, specified as being counted up from the causeway at the south gable. *Petition of James Reikie, wright*, 1761.

502. The first storey, which she possessed, consisted of seven fire rooms, and two light closets, with garrets, cellars, etc. (*E.E.C.*, 15 Nov. 1760).

503. *Petition of Charles Butters, wright*, 1748; Butters wished rebuild a tenement which had been waste and ruinous for three years (under the Act), and also as a preferred creditor of the former owner Laurence Wilson, then deceased. *Petition of William Reoch, wright*, 11 August 1749; Reoch had a wrights yard at the foot of the close and wished to build a workhouse. *Petition of Charles Butters, wright*, 19 February 1752; Butters had purchased a ruinous tenement "or piece of waste ground" on the east of the close, south of the tenement "lately rebuilt by your petitioner", and north of that formerly belonging to the deceased Thomas Kincaid, fronting Grays and Carrubbers Closes. It was again purchased under the Act, this time at public roup, from the Council. In 1758, Butters sold "all the area formerly belonging to Thomas Kincaid, then to his creditors" in Grays Close to Mrs Katherine Piper, milliner, to build an addition to her own house in Carrubbers Close. (*Petition of Mrs Katherine Piper*, 24 March 1758).

504. *Petition of Charles Butters, wright*, 6 May 1767.

505. Wilson, p. 252.

506. *Petition of Robert Selby, plumber*, 27 December 1769. *Scroll, Act and warrand in favour of John Miln, founder*; Miln had bought "all and haill of that lodging or dwelling house and cellars, with garden, summer house and pertinents then possessed by Sir Robert Morton of Gogar, and the yard and workhouse possessed by Alexander Turnbull, wright immediately below Smith's Land", in 1745, part of which he was now altering.

507. *Petition of William Jameson and Patrick Begbie*, 26 June 1761, *Petition of James Ramsay, sclater*, 14 May 1763, and *Petition of Daniel Murray, merchant*, 25 March 1767.

508. *Petition of James Reid, coachwright*, 3 May 1769; on "land with eastmost pavilion built by James Smith of Whitehill adjacent to Campbells land on east, Ferguson and Smith on west, back of Canongate on north, High Street on south.

509. *Petition of Alexander Crichton, coachmaster in Edinburgh*, 14 April 1762; he proposed to build three workhouses and shades on back wester lands, with yards and perts. lately bought and formerly belonging to James Ronald, merchant, and lately David Jackson, saddler. *Petition of William Jamieson, mason*, 30 November 1774; accounts of stables and coach houses for Commissioners of H.M. Customs on area and ruinous houses east of the property of Alexander Crichton, coachmaster.

510. *Petition of John Home*, 1753; to take down the timber front and convert to a workhouse. *Petition of John Home, Coach maker*, 17 July 1765; repair old work house contiguous to his own dwelling house in St. Marys Wynd, and convert part to small dwelling house. *Petition of Charles Howison, wright*, 9 April 1766; Home as one of proprietors in Fishers Close summoned to agree to repaving. *Petition of John Home, coachmaker*, 14 May 1766; to take down and rebuild a house in Boyds Close at the back of his own dwelling house.

511. The following information is taken from W. Forbes Gray, "The Lands of Newington and their Owners", *B.O.E.C.*, Vol. xxiv.

512. *E.E.C.*, 23 November 1772.

513. *Petition of Robert Walker, tanner*, 1755; proprietor of several houses, stables, and haylofts at the south side of Canongatehead, on the west side of Haliburtons Close, and a tanwork and shade at the foot of the close; bounded south by yard of Robert Gibb coachmaster, west by Hamiltons land, belonging to James Boyd stabler. The ground between was said to be used by Boyd to build a chaise house without warrant. *Petition of James Boyd, stabler*, 11 June 1766, Jedge and Warrand 1766; permission to build on lately purchased tenement and area at the foot of his close. Contiguous heritors were James Bonnar, painter, John Home, coachwright, and Alexander Learmonth, tanner.

514. *Petition of George Hunter and George Wilson, masons*, 21 August 1765; take down coach houses and stables lately purchased from Alexander Forsyth, coachmaker in London, in the back court of his close of buildings, and build several houses.

515. *Act and Warrand in favour of Hon. Alexander Gordon, advocate, and Thomas Tod, merchant*, 1772.

516. *Petition of John Syme, Clerk to the Signet*, 5 July 1775.

517. *Petition of Charles Guthrie, writer*, 1760; on behalf of Patrick Erskine house carpenter in Jamaica, eldest son of the deceased Alexander Erskine sometime factor for the Marquis of Tweedale, thereafter Merchant Burgess of Edinburgh, the proprietor of a house in the close next to the Netherbow.

518. *Complaint of Procurator fiscal against Martin Eccles, surgeon*, 1763; Eccles was ordered to make good the opening, and fined £100 scots.

519. eg *Petition of Alexander Munroe, surgeon*, and other proprietors of the back part of Hume's Land, 1748, and *Petition of the proprietors of the stone land entering off Presidents Stairs*, 7 August and 4 September 1771.

520. *Petition and Complaint of Mr William Robertson of Ladykirk and other heritors against John Thomson, Sootyman and others*, 20 May 1763.

521. *Petition of David Rae, advocate and other heritors*, 1764. *Petition of James Brodie, surgeon and Thomas Tulloch, merchant*, 8 May 1771. *Petition of Misses Ann and Christian Graemes and Miss Janet Threipland*, 17 June 1772.

522. *Petition and Complaint of Jean Forbes*, 8 February 1774.

523. *Complaint of Alexander Crichton, coachwright in Canongate*, 24 August 1766.

524. *Petition of Elizabeth Johnston*, 12 February 1772.

525. *Petition of Thomas Cockburn, WS* and other proprietors of the west stone tenement of Taylors Land in Canongate, 19 February 1773.

526. *Complaint of Alexander Crichton, coachwright in Canongate*, 24 August 1766, also the *Petition of William Mackenzie, advocate*, for himself and the other inhabitants of Old Assembly close, 15 March 1771; that "between 10 and 11 yesterday forenoon about a dozen of slates tumbled all at once from one of these Rooffs [of a number of old crazy houses towards the foot of the west side of the close]....within a foot of a person accidently passing along".

527. *Petition of Islay Campbell, advocate*, and other proprietors of Buchanans land, 29 May 1771. *Petition of John Bell, WS*, 23 December 1771.

528. *Petition of David Rae esquire, advocate*, and other heritors of the land which stood at the head of Halkerstones Wynd, 4 May 1768.

529. *Petition of James Rattray, brewer*, 5 December 1764, *Petition of Alexander Alison*, deputy Cashier of Excise, 22 June 1763, and *Petition of James Kempt*, as factor for Humphrey Bland Gardiner, 3 May 1763.

530. *Petition of John Simpson, taylor*, 22 May 1771; the proprietor of the back tenement of land in fflemings Close, foot of fishmarket Close, who was raising the wall 6 or 7 ft and putting on a new roof.

531. *Petition of Janet Thomson*, 29 Jan. 1773; to order the repair of the insufficient roofing of Scotts Land at the head Boyds of Close - the rain came down through the 5th storey "that fore bartizan.." into her 4th storey property. *Petition of Chas. Freebairn Architect in Edinburgh*, 17th March 1762; to rebuild (as proprietor of the 4th storey of a small tenement at the west side of the head of Cants Close, with accounts. *Petition of James Rankine*, 1763; accounts for a house in the Grassmarket with doors to Heriots Hospital and Greyfriars churchyard - repairs of plate of stair to lead bartizan.

532. *Petition of Duncan Wright, wright*, 5th Aug. 1763; to renew an old and insufficient lead platform on the front of his property at the head of Niddrys Wynd, and "convert Platform into a toofall". *Petition of Robert Hamilton brewer in Leith*, 26 July 1771; to replace the decayed roof of a tenement of land west of Heriots bridge, and "being a leaden platform" to replace it with sloping sclate. *Petition of the heritors of Carrubbers land*, 22 Nov 1775; to replace a roof covered with lead and in disrepair, at the head of Cellars Close, with a new roof.

533. *Petition of C. Guthrie writer* for Patrick Erskine house carpenter in Jamaica lately deceased, 12th Sept. 1764.

534. *Records of Exchequer*, quoted in Arnot p. 195.

535. *Complaint of Robert Gray, Procurator Fiscal*, against John Muat, mealmaker, and John Antonius, wright, 6 October 1764.

536. *Petition of Robert Thomson, merchant*, 9 June 1773.

537. *Petition of Alexander Gray, WS*, for himself and George McKenzie, 17 March 1762. The house itself was up for sale in January of that year (*E.E.C.*, 25 Jan. 1762). It had eight fire rooms, a kitchen, coal house, larder, and a "large area" fronting the house.

538. *Petition of Robert Blyth, merchant*, 1760, *Petition of John Carmichael of Eastend and James Telfer, Staymaker*, 1760, *Petition of Gilbert Clark, writer*, 7 August 1765, *Petition of William Moffat, glassgrinder*, 7 August 1765, *Petition of Hugh Kinloch, taylor*, 28 June 1769, *Petition of David Mylne, merchant*, 3 March 1773, *Petition of Charles Thomson, merchant, and Miss Kelly Hamilton*, 26 July 1775.

539. "Of the Origin of Ambition, and of the Distinction of Ranks", *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* Part I, section III, chapter II.

540. Letter from Rome quoted in Fleming, p. 187.

541. B. Mandeville, *A Letter to Dion, Occasion'd by his Book call'd Alciphron, or the Minute Philosopher* (London, 1732), pp. 36-7, referred to in Istvan Hont and Michael Ignatieff, *Wealth and Virtue, The Shaping of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment*, (Cambridge: 1983), p. 11.

542. The need for a bridge was stated to be "particularly obvious at this time, when there is such Complaint or rather outcry for the scarcity of houses" *T.C.M.*, 7 November 1764.

543. Geo.III. an, 7.c.27; *Council Register*, 21 August 1765, and *Scots Magazine* v 31 p.461.

544. Scottish Forfeited Estates Papers, 1715:1745, ed. A.H. Millar (S.H.S.,1909), 61-2, quoted in T.C. Smout, *The Landowner and the Planned Village*, p. 79.

545. *Proposals*, op.cit..

546. In April 1766, the Council advertised that the northern grounds were to be feued "according to a scheme...for preventing the inconveniences and disadvantages which arise from carrying on buildings, without regard to any order or regularity". Regularity was to be achieved by a grid plan for which many prototypes have been suggested by those writing on the subject, from Richelieu (1633) and Convent Garden (1630), to Inveraray (1747), Nancy (1752), and Bath (1754). From these and other perhaps more directly comparable schemes, all based on the same, strong, geometric design concept, a basis for the qualitative analysis of the Edinburgh interpretation can be establishedSee Peter Reed, "Form and Context: a study of Georgian Edinburgh" in *Order in Space and Society* edited by Thomas A. Markus (Edinburgh:1982) for an analysis of these comparisons.

547. "One of the critical marks of the town is its differentiation of the original functions of the temple into theatre, academy, university, museum, library, and art gallery. These institutions form a major part of the civic nucleus; and where they are not present, at least in vestigial form, even the most highly built-up area should be characterised as an urban agglomeration rather than a town." (*Chambers Encyclopaedia*, 1959). These distinctively twentieth-century civic establishments can be transposed to their eighteenth-century equivalents without loss of meaning.

548. That this freedom was allowed echoes in detail the rudimentary interpretation of the demands of formality shown in the plan as a whole. Apart from imposing a grid and confining stables, cheaper house (at first), and bakehouses, etc. to the service routes of Rose Street, William Street, etc., concepts had changed little. In 1767, regulations which had become standard in the city proper had been imposed; pavements were to be ten feet wide, laid and kept at householders expense, houses were to be built in a continuous line, with no projecting signs. Down the centre of streets, the Council were to provide a new form of sewer which Craig was sent to master in London.

549. Chambers (1825 edition), p. 72.

550. This can be seen from the proprietors mentioned in some of the early petitions (all mutual gable queries, 1768 - 74): Sir Andrew fferguson of Kilkerran, advocate and Mr. Andrew Crosbie, advocate, on the east side of St Andrew's Square (24 August 1768); Coutts and Co., Mr. Gilbert, Lady Methven, Sir William Forbes, Mr. James Hunter (10 August 1770); Robert Hunter late of Bengal and John Dalrymple present Lord Provost, on an area fronting Queens Row lately purchased from Archibald Keir, late of Bengal (4 March 1772); Alexander ffergus of Craigdarroch, advocate, St Andrews Square (11 August 1773); Robert Hunter of Thurston [?] ground fronting Queen Street (1774); Baron Ord (6 July 1774). Chambers (1825 edition) gives Shadrock Moise, Secretary of Customs as client for a South St. David's Street house of 1769, David Wright and Alexander Gray, writers, as clients for the first two houses on the south side

of St. Andrew's Square (1770), and Sir John Whitefoord and Gilbert Meason, Esq. as first on the north side (pp. 64, 65). Some were accumulating considerable fortunes, but none had significant status in the greater hierarchy.

551. Youngson p. 100.

552. It publicised its advantages of aspect and nearness to bridge; the convenient "distance of a moderate walk of 8 minutes from the Parliament House, the high church, and the Exchange; of 9 minutes from the College of Physick Gardens [by the College kirk], of 6 minutes from the Markets, and not three minutes from agreeable airings in the country", as well as plenty of clay and sand on site for bricks. (See Youngson p. 98.)

553. John Horn, wright in Calton, with a charter of 1764 for piece of ground on the west end and east of the feu of Andrew Syme, cooper in Edinburgh, the lowest on the north side, built a tenement of three storeys; Horn and William Pirnie, bricklayer in Calton, then built eastwards up the ascent. Horn's tenement (in 1799) consisted of a room, kitchen, pantry and cellar with three fire rooms with bed-closet upstairs. There were (in 1807) six small houses in Symes court including a house over the pend or entry, bounded to the south by the road up the hill and another house, and to the east, a pavilion house of two storeys. Among the early possessors or proprietors were Walter Hogg accountant in the British Linen Co., Christian Irvine "late of Tobago now in London", and Sir Alexander Dick of Prestonfield. See, "The Barony of Calton: Part II", *B.O.E.C.*, Vol. XIX.

554. Funded by a royal grant of £1,330, and an annual sum of £69 (which was increased some years later by £50) besides the outdoor plants arranged by species, the garden contained a green-house, with passages off to a hot-house at either end, and a basin of water (Arnot, p. 321.).

555. Chambers p. 376; "In his last days he spent some of his few remaining shillings in the erection of two boards, at different parts of his buildings, whereon was represented a globe in the act of falling, with this inscription:

"If Fortune smile, be not puffed up,
And if it frown, be not dismayed;
For Providence governeth all,
Although the world's turned upside down."

556. *Petition of George Campbell, House Carpenter*, 17 July 1762; having bought kiln, malt barn, etc (formerly belonging to Thomas Myrtle) to the east of Drummond, proposes to demolish and rebuild. Campbell had died sometime between his last recorded petition of August 1766, and the petition of his daughter, his sole heir and executrix, Mrs Jean Campbell, wife of Captain Thomas Campbell, in March 1768.

557. *Petition of John Pringle, WS*, 9 June 1762, and 9 July 1766.

558. Excepting one last block added to an area west of the house belonging to John Pringle by William McConachie, wright, in 1767. *Petition of William McConachie, wright*, 2 July 1767; there already existed a warrant to build in the name of James Ramsay, mason, and William Sinclair.

559. All unreferenced information in this section has been taken from, "George Square and its Residents,.....", *B.O.E.C.* Vol. XXVI

560. Three houses newly built on his ground in the Cowgate, the lands of Blair, Kinross-shire, and those of North Merchiston, High Riggs, with Merchiston House, Ross Park, Sunnyside, and Stenhouse Craigs near Edinburgh were put up for sale by public roup, advertisement in *Caledonian Mercury*, 14 January 1765, quoted in Fleming, p. 67.

561. Arnot, p. 248.

562. Number 14, the house of the Dowager Countess of Sutherland was to be the home of Lady Glenorchy from 1780 till her death in 1786.

563. Martin Eccles, the surgeon who had complained of cold in his Foulis close lodging in 1749, who had then moved to a large tenement in Fishmarket close, next to the Royal bank by 1763, then to George Square.

564. Boswell, *Journal* 7 February 1776.

565. The pasture was enclosed by a rail and let at £33/annum till 1813.

566. Purchased in 1713 by Sir James Nicolson, together with a small property to the south purchased in 1724. See Henry M Paton, "Lands of St Leonards: Southern Section", *B.O.E.C.*, Vol XXIV, p. 199.

567. *Edinburgh*, p.239.

568. *Petition of Doctor Alexander Monroe*, Junior Professor of Anatomy at the University of Edinburgh, 1766. (The same or another Dr. Monro was listed as the proprietor of a house worth £400 in a burnt land in the Lawnmarket in 1772, which was taken over immediately after by Islay Campbell.)

569. A "circumstance which ... does honour to the literary abilities of many of them..". See Arnot p. 510. By 1778 there were 188 hackney chairs in the city, and only nine hackney coaches due, it was said, to the great increase in post chaises. ibid, p. 464.

570. *Petition of Dr. Monro, physician, and Robert Inglis and Simon Frazer, masons*, 22 October 1789.

571. *B.O.E.C.* Vol. XXVI, pp. 212, 213

572. Op. cit., p.21.

573. *B.O.E.C.*, Vol XVIII, pp. 172-4.

574. Arnot, p. 276.

575. ibid.

576. Besides the main hall, it contained two rooms, kitchen, cellar lobby and other apartments, and a bowling green behind, all acquired at a cost of roughly £1,200.

577. *Edinburgh*, p. 281.

578. Youngson, p. 95.

579. Part of the site had been given to the Trustees by the Council, in the belief that the building would promote feuing of the grounds north of the Bridge. *Act of Council*, 13 September 1769. The rest was bought for £2,698 from private owners. The work was supervised by James Salisbury. Youngson, p. 66.

580. Letter III (first published by Creech in 1783), in Appendix XIII, in Arnot, p. 523.

581. On top of the £12,000 granted initially, and £2,000 granted from the Exchequer in 1778. Youngson (p. 68), says the total cost, up to the Napoleonic War, was £31,000.

582. *Petition of the Royal College of Physicians*, 15 April 1767.

583. Youngson, p. 95.

584. *T.C.M.*, 31 January 1781.

585. Alexander Kincaid, *The History of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: 1787), p. 123. It was also described as being designed by David Kay to what was referred to as Captain Fraser's Plan. *T.C.M.* 5 September 1781.

586. *T.C.M.*, 25 March 1795.

587. It was erected by private subscription, and in 1792, was converted into a theatre. ("A Sketch of the Improvements of the City of Edinburgh from 1780 to 1816", added to Arnot's *History*, p. 543.) This may have been the "Comedy Hut" shown on the site plan of a petition to erect two shops "on the north-east corner" of the square in 1788. (*Petition of William Montgomery*, wigmaker and hair dresser, 27 March 1788.)

588. *Petition of John Jackson Esq.* Manager of the Theatre Royal, 24 April 1788.

589. 9 July 1788, "Diary of George Sandy", *B.O.E.C.*, Vol. XXIV, op cit, p. 54.

590. A third feuar, Thomas Laing, edge-toolmaker, after erecting his tenement of houses with "sunk area pavement and railing", discovered in 1781, that the Council had omitted any right to cellerage, while Hill had brought out his cellars three feet further than the others. *Petition of David Ramsay*, mason, and others subscribing, 11 December 1777. *Petition of Thomas Laing*, Edge Toolmaker, 10 October 1781.

591. *Complaint of Alison Corbett*, 18 May 1782, and Fleming, p. 82 and p. 119.

592. The ground between Castle Street and Charlotte Square was acquired in 1785.

593. For a more detailed analysis see Youngson.

594. *T.C.M.*, 30 July 1759.

595. Only a representative sample of New Town petitions were read in full, therefore more detailed research into petitions, burgess roles and Incorporation records needs to be undertaken.

596. *E.E.C.*, 13 Dec. 1773.

597. See bundle containing *Petition of James Dun*, stabler in Princes Street, 30 September 1779, which includes other complaints brought by the Procurator fiscal. This scheme was eventually warranted after arguments with the City Treasurer over Dun's rights to the land.

598. *Petitions of Alexander Bruce*, 23 March 1781, and 9 April 1788 (drawing of extended scheme in too bad a condition for copying).

599. *Petition of John Ramsay*, wright in Paul's Work, 9 June 1787.

600. *Petition of Robert Calder*, mason, and others, 2 May 1782.

601. *Petition of John Robertson*, printer, and the Procurator fiscal, 31 August and 12 October 1786.

602. *Act of Council*, 29 June 1785.

603. *Petition of Thomas Earl of Haddington* and others, 4 December 1789.

604. ibid.

605. The *Proposals for carrying on certain Public Works in the City of Edinburgh*, 1752.

606. The children of the second marriage of the 17th Laird of Dundas, in the sixteenth century, inherited the estate of Arniston.

607. Boswell, *Journal*, op.cit., 6 April 1775.

608. George III to North, 24 Feb 1778.

609. H. Furber,(1931) *Dundas*, p. 228, quoted in Ferguson, p. 247.

610. Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fortescue (1892), I. 534. quoted in Ferguson p.247.

611. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 237.

612. William Ramsay of Barnton (1732-1807) of the banking house Mansfield and Co., by 1790 was described by Thomas Coutts of London as "one of the richest men of business in the United Kingdom" (Martin, John c 1955, "Patrick Millar of Dalswinton", *Scottish Bankers Magazine* 166, quoted in Checkland, p. 160). Ramsay was on the Council from 1761-71. In 1776, Dundas involved him in a scheme to alter the power balance among directors of the Royal Bank, thus ousting Sir Lawrence Dundas with his faction. Although successful, and the Duke of Buccleuch became Governor, according to Ramsay, while Mansfields lost £73,000, Dundas gained on his Royal Bank stock bought between 1776-7 (though by 1789, the Ramsay interest owned a third of Royal Bank shares). In 1786, Ramsay loaned Dundas £13,000. (Ramsay's *Diary*, 24 Oct 1789, quoted in Checkland, p. 159). Sir William Forbes, of Forbes, Hunter and Co., a man of considerable local influence was offered only a place on Edinburgh Town Council by Dundas in 1789 - which Forbes declined as he was "totally averse to all concerns with politics" (Sir William Forbes, letter to Dundas, 25 Sept 1789, *Melville Papers*, quoted in Checkland, p. 158) - then ten years later, an Irish peerage by Pitt which was also declined. Forbes was the son of a lawyer, and heir to a Nova Scotia baronetcy, who had been apprenticed in 1754, at the age of fifteen, to John Coutts and Co.. By 1773, the firm had became Sir William Forbes, J. Hunter and Co..

Other bankers had wide and varied interests; Ramsay's partner Patrick Millar (1731-1815) was an improver, an acquaintance of Burns, an associate of the Carron Company, and as an inventor was partly responsible for both the design of a ship's gun known as the carronade, and the construction of a steam-powered boat; David Stewart of Allan and Stewart, Lord Provost from 1780-82, was the leading spirit behind the Chamber of Commerce in 1785, and was involved in planning and land speculation in the New Town. The house of William Alexander and Sons, which played a largely forgotten but not insignificant part throughout the changing times, was notable for less worthy reasons. Narrowly escaping collapse during the Air bank crisis by heavy borrowing, it became bankrupt in 1776 when the American war destroyed the tobacco trade on whose profits it was founded, and to escape their creditors the family fled to France and claimed French citizenship. Their greatest assets were in the West Indies, plantations in Grenada, which had just been captured by the French, who joined in the war on the American side in 1778. The Alexanders sought restoration of their property in the French courts but the verdict went to the Bank of England, their main creditor. In the peace treaty of 1783, the lands again became British, and were sold in 1790 for £100,000, much less than the original sum advanced to the Alexanders. (For further details see Checkland, op. cit.)

613. Smith, op. cit., Book III, Chapter IV, (1812 ed.) p. 328 (also pp. 323-329).

614. ibid, Book I, Chapter XI, p. 213, and onwards.

615. ibid, Book III, Chapter II, pp. 305,306. In Scotland, more than one-fifth, perhaps more than one-third of the whole lands of the country were then thought to be under strict entail (ibid, p. 304).

616. Kaimes, "Scotch Entails considered in Moral and Political Views", *Sketches of the History of Man*, (Edinburgh, 1774), 4th ed (1788), vol. iv, pp. 460-2. Echoing the argument of Smith but with different emphasis, Kaimes saw entails as an extension of the principles of feudal property law, antithetical to the demands of a commercial society: the heir to an entailed estate was unable to improve the land effectively, and large amounts of property were removed from circulation (Kames, "Scotch Entails", op.cit. iv, p. 450) in direct opposition to his belief that "no circumstance tends more to the advancement of commerce than a free circulation of the goods of fortune from hand to hand" (Kames, *Principles of Equity*, 2nd edition (Edinburgh, 1767) p. 259, quoted in David Lieberman, "The legal needs of a commercial society", *Wealth and Virtue*, op.cit.).

617. Smith, Book I, Chapter X, part II, p. 116.

618. see Ferguson, op. cit., p. 244.

619. In 1782, a resolution - against the splitting of superiorities to make votes - was passed at a meeting of freeholders in Edinburgh, at which 23 out of 33 shires were represented. In 1783, a committee for burgh reform was set up, and in 1784, a Convention of delegates was held, again in Edinburgh, with 33 out of the 66 Royal Burghs represented. (See "Letter of Britannicus", *Cal. Merc.* April 5 1783, and April 21, 1793.)

620. The reform was directed at self-election of town councillors, alienation of public property, illegal contraction of debt, illegal exactions in the name of taxation, misapplication of the town revenues, and partiality in the quartering of soldiers on the burgesses. See A. Fletcher, *A Memoir concerning the Origin and Progress of the Reform proposed in the Internal Government of the Royal Burghs in Scotland*, Edinburgh 1819, part iii; and *Historical Account of the Government and Grievances of the Royal Burghs of Scotland*, Edinburgh 1787; both quoted in Henry W. Meikle, *Scotland and the French Revolution* (Glasgow: 1912), p. 19.

621. See *Cal. Merc.* Sept 8 1787, and Fletcher, op. cit., part. i, 147-9.

622. *Cal. Merc.*, Dec 23 and 28, 1782, and Jan 6, 22, Feb 5 1783, (by Thomas McGrugar, an Edinburgh burgess).

623. Smith, Book I, Chapter XI, p. 214, etc.

624. He also found it necessary to ask, "Is this improvement [more varied diet, better clothing, better instruments of trade, all cheaper] in the circumstances of the lower ranks of the people to be regarded as an advantage or as an inconveniency to the society?", then answered his own question; "... But what improves the circumstances of the greater part can never be regarded as an inconveniency to the whole. No society can surely be flourishing and happy, of which the far greater part of the members are poor and miserable. It is but equity, besides, that they who food, clothe and lodge the whole body of the people, should have such a share of the produce of their own labour to be well fed, clothed, and lodged." ibid, Book I, Chapter VIII, p. 76.

625. From 1730, a mixed cotton-linen cloth had been produced, mainly for handkerchiefs. Information for this section is taken from Ferguson, op. cit., pp. 184-6.

626. The first cotton mill had opened in Penicuik in 1778, the next in Rothesay in 1779, and within a few years, more were established at Paisley, Johnstone, and East Kilbride. The great complex begun at New Lanark in 1786 within ten years employed 1,300 hands. In 1790, children were being sent from Edinburgh and the West kirk work houses to help provide this huge workforce. The Council's agreement with David Dale ensured they were fed, clothed,

educated at his expense, and provided with jobs after their five to six year indenture expired. (For further details see Cage).

627. Boswell, *Journal*, 22 March 1776.

628. *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. i, xi. (Urr, Kirkcudbrightshire), p. 79.

629. Ferguson, "Order and Individual Liberty", in *Remarks ...on the Nature of Civil Liberty*, (London 1776), quoted in Richard B. Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment*, (Edin.: 1985).

630. Sher, p.180, quoting John Drysdale, "On Distinction of Ranks", *Sermons* (Edinburgh, 1793, published after death in 1788). The least convincing attempt to dissuade the lower classes from alarming bids to improve their lot came from Hugh Blair, now Professor of Rhetoric at the College: "How much more attentive to preserve our virtue, and to improve our minds," he preached, "than to gain the doubtful and equivocal advantages of worldly prosperity!" In view of the strenuous efforts of his circle of fellow professionals to raise their social status in the early fifties, and his own struggles to obtain the New Kirk pulpit against the Cuming faction's candidate in 1758, his exhortations have now - and must have had at the time - a particularly hollow ring. Blair, *Sermons* 1777-1801, (London 1818) 174-75. cf ibid., 5:149 quoted in Sher p. 185, see also Sher p. 84.

631. Ferguson, p. 227.

632. See Ferguson, p. 248.

633.

...
Let Britain boast her hardy oak,
Her poplar and her pine, man,
Auld Britain ance could crack her joke,
An' o'er her neighbours shine, man.
But seek the forest round an' round,
An' soon 'twill be agreed, man,
That sic a tree can not be found,
'Twixt London an' the Tweed, man.
...

Verses 8, *The Tree of Liberty*, Robert Burns.

634. Henry Cockburn, *Memorials of His Time*, ed H. A. Cockburn (1910), p.73.

635. Home Office (Scotland) Correspondence in the P.R.O. - of the Home Secretary with the Lord Advocate - arranged chronologically vols. 1-41 (1781-1832), unpublished; vol v, letter from Glasgow enclosed in one from Dundas to Nepean, October 14 1792, quoted in Meikle p. 94.

636. *The Statistical Account of Scotland* vol. xiv, (Wigtown) p.483.

637. M. Forbes, *Beattie and His Friends*, (Westminster :1903) p. 281, quoted in Meikle p. 64.

638. Home Office (Scotland) Correspondence in the P.R.O. - of the Home Secretary with the Lord Advocate, vol. vi. Nov 1792.

639. When the Society of Friends of the People adopted the words and form of the French Revolutionary Assembly at its Convention, it gave the government the justification it needed for moving against the Scottish radicals. Thomas Muir, one of the speakers at the convention was arrested on the 2nd of January 1793, as well as, in January, February, and March, a number of Edinburgh's publishers and booksellers.

640. See Ferguson

641. Ferguson, pp. 250-251, quoting from T. Paine, ed. R. Carlile, *Political and Miscellaneous Works*, 2 vols. (1819), Pt. II, ch.V.

642. A similar trend was evident in the writing of history itself, which would eventually lead to the outright romanticism of Walter Scott's historical novels and the popular histories of Mill and Macaulay. All this section is largely taken from Sher, op.cit. p.317. What he terms the "conjectural", narrative, and philosophical method of Hume, Robertson, Ferguson, Stuart, and Smith is described as being replaced by the antiquarian and controversial method of Thomson, Tytler, and Innes.

643. Johnson, quoted in Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, 2:297.

644. Its author, James MacPherson, was a protege first of John Home, the former minister turned playwright turned political hanger-on, then of Hugh Blair. MacPherson moved to lodgings directly beneath Blair in Blackfriars Wynd in January 1761. (By 1778, Blair had a "country-house" between Edinburgh and Leith, according to Boswell's Journal, entry for 20th Oct 1778, in *Boswell, Laird of Auchinleck*, (Yale:1977), p.31.) Blair sprang to the book's defense in 1763; it showed, he said, the "tenderness and sublimity" of a pure and incorrupt era, where manners were crude - but prudish - and abstractions were absent, but sentiments were "noble as befits an heroic age" - and remarkably genteel (Blair, *Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian*, 1763). See also, Sher, op.cit., p. 247.

645. The hero of Goethe's *Werther* (1774) preferred him to Homer, and later, Napoleon was to commission Girodet's *Ossian receiving Napoleon's Generals*, and Ingres' *Dream of Ossian*.

646. From Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Laokoon*, 1766, quoted in William Vaughan, *Romantic Art*, (London:1978), p. 13, from which the general content of this section is also taken.

647. These new categories dealt with what has been called "the more equivocal kinds of aesthetic experience" outwith the concept of Beauty, were defined in works such as Johann Joachim Winckelmann's *Thoughts on the Imitation of the Art of the Ancients in Painting and Sculpture*, published in 1755, and Edmund Burke's *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* of 1757. The new categories had also been used by William Chambers to explain the attractions of chinoiserie; in his *Designs of Chinese Buildings, Furniture, Dresses, Machines and Utensils* of 1757, "horrid" could be said to correspond to sublime/frightening, and "enchanted" to romantic/mysterious. It is difficult to imagine anything more diametrically opposed to Hume's careful analysis of the evidence of the senses, in his attempt to define the basis of taste than Burke's preliminary assumption that, "It is probable that the standard of both reason and Taste is the same in all human creatures".

648. In his *Social Contract* of 1762, he argued that human reason, when not accompanied by considerations of the heart, could act only in a way that was unproductive because insensitive. His view was positive and optimistic; that a golden age could be rediscovered by an exploration of natural predilections; that reflection could lead to liberation; and that natural goodness would emerge from gratifying the need to follow innate emotions.

649. The behaviour of the new hierarchy and its adherents - the regulators of commercial society - was perceived at the time as becoming based more on propriety and less on virtue and, as Smith remarked, a "considerable difference [exists] between virtue and propriety; between those qualities and actions which deserve to be admired and celebrated, and those which simply deserve to be approved of". (*Theory of Moral Sentiments*, I. i. 5.7.)

650. Henry McKenzie, *Anecdotes and Egotisms*, (reprint, Oxford Univ Press:1927) p. 202.

651. In his justification for the establishment for a Scottish militia in 1762, Carlyle had argued that it would strengthen the social and moral fibre of society with feelings of "tenderness", "esteem", and "mutual confidence" between officers and men, thus "improving relations between high and low" and making "a regular subordination defined by law, which is the cement of Society" These were benefits so far from obvious in the regular army that only a wilfully rose (or tartan)-tinted view of military life could have suggested them without cynicism. On the contrary, soldiers' deep distrust of their leaders' motives led, in September 1778, to a mutiny in the Earl of Seaforth's regiment; with their pay in arrears and suspecting "that they were sold to the East India Company", five hundred "retired to Arthur's Seat" refusing to embark at Leith until they were given assurances of both their destination and that all monies owed to them would be made up in full. Again, in April 1787, fifty Highlanders recruited for the 42nd and 71st regiments refused to embark on a rumour they were to be drafted into a Lowland corps. Their mutiny was quelled by 200 fencibles, leaving 12 mutineers dead, 20 wounded, and the remainder prisoner in Edinburgh castle. See Alexander Kincaid, *History of Edinburgh*, (Edinburgh:1787), p. 219. (Carlyle quoted in Sher, p. 234.) When the Militia Act was finally passed in 1797, "Scotland went stark mad as if it had been hit by Corsica" and the subsequent riots led to the Tranent Massacre.

652. Somerville, op.cit., p. 377.

653. Kincaid, p.319. The estimated cost was £8,600 sterling.

654. He had adopted his wife's family name of Blair to ensure an inheritance, and henceforth became known as Hunter Blair.

655. *George II III*. REGIS, Cap.28, pp.782, 783.

656. A few of the most notable inhabitants won some protection: a promise was given to erect no building within twenty feet west of "the Whole of the present Road leading from the Cowgate to College Street, through Adam's Square ... opposite to the houses belonging to George Buchan of Kello Esquire, the Lord President of the Court of Session, Alexander Farquharson Esquire ... excepting a Parapet Wall not exceeding Six feet in height". (Boswell's father [law] Lord Auchinleck lived in Adam's Square until 1782, when he moved to a house in the New Town. Boswell himself "went to take Hunter of Thurstone's house in St. Andrew's Square" but found it already taken. He had "brought my mind to remove to the New Town, as better for the health of my wife and children, and as I should be near to my father in his new house.") Boswell op. cit., 28 May 1780, 23 January 1782, 19 February 1782.

657. See City Chamberlain's books from May 1786, which show an expenditure of over £12,000, as noted in Youngson p. 305.

658. Kincaid, p. 109. As well as an Act of Parliament passed for taking down the Luckenbooths and Weigh house (postponed untill the next century), the Guard house was demolished in 1785. Daniel Wilson, *Reminiscences of Old Edinburgh*, (Edinburgh : 1878), p. 106.

659. Kincaid, p. 108.

660. Also referred to as "Drummond's Street or the entry to the new bridge" in a petition of 1772.

661. "For securing the south abutments of the new [north] Bridge, the Magistrates of Edinburgh erected on both sides of it, certain buildings strongly arched, and often these had been raised to a level with the pavement of the Bridge, the Magistrates [then] exposed to sale by public roup the privilege of erecting four separate stories above these new buildings". (*Decree of John Wilson and William Pirnie masons and builders against William Butters Esq. Kings Carpenter for Scotland*, 7 March and 30 May 1782.)

662. *Edinburgh Advertiser*, December 22nd 1786.

663. *Petition of John Wilson and William Pirnie*, masons, 6 April 1780; proprietors of the two uppermost storeys of the new tenement on the west side of the Bridge's south abutment against William Butters the proprietor of the storey immediately below for "not erecting proper supports so as to Carry the partitions to be erected in your petitioners houses". Butters was ordered to take down his brick arches and replace them with beams and six columns under penalty of £20 sterling fine.

664. The Trustees' "intention of taking some House in the New Town as a Model, to repeat it through the whole length of the Street, would have too much sameness and produce a very unpleasing and tiresome effect especially as there is no House already built in the New Town that an Architect would chuse as a Model for a Shop to imitate, far less to repeat it through a Whole Street." quoted in Youngson p. 116 from letters in the Penicuik Collection, Box 189, Register House.

665. In a "A Sketch of the Improvements of the City of Edinburgh from 1780 to 1816", added to the 1816 edition of Arnot, op. cit., p. 532.

666. A 1788 North Bridge building, the extension of an existing tenement, despite its elegant east elevation to Bridge Street is referred to as the "Back Land in Mills Square" rather than the front land to Bridge Street throughout its many documents - a possible indication that the status of the older block still superseded the new street's appeal (*Petition of the Procurator Fiscal*, 12 June 1788: in answer to the ordered demolition of a tenement in Bulls Close (3 April 1788), and the effect their new building was having on a stair to "Mills" Square, the proprietors responded that by Act of Council, 13 Aug 1777, they had been granted an area on the west side of the north bridge, between the south abutment and the east gable of their back land in "Mills" Square, and allowed to take down the said east gable and rebuild it "upon the parapet of the said Bridge in a line with the Post Office and other buildings to the north of the said Back Land so as to include the said area in their houses when rebuilt", paying the City £30 sterling for the area. By an Act of 11 Feb 1784, the Council had rescinded the previous act and sold the area to James Hunter, merchant at public roup, but as he "repented of his bargain", by another act of 21 April 1784, he was relieved and the area sold to Francis Braidwood as the next highest bidder. The Respondants brought an action and the two later acts were declared null and void. By warrant of 9 and 23 Aug 1787, and 21 May 1788, they were now demolishing their east gable and rebuilding it on the bridge's parapet to include the formerly disputed area. The stair had been erected into their gable without permission and so was itself illegal and an encroachment.)

667. *Petition for John Mossman, Treasurer of City*, 1777; for a large area on the west side of the south abutment of the new bridge on which the City of Edinburgh intends to erect several buildings.

668. eg The Misses Graemes and Miss Threipland in the first and second storeys of Marlin's Wynd (Petition of 17 June 1772).

669. eg Grierson's land, 1775,

670. 6th December; three lots, 48 feet broad, sold at £2,310, £2,200, and £2,150. 27th December; three lots, 33 and 32 feet deep, sold at £2,145, £2,000, £2,475, and the fourth, which fronted the Cowgate, was sold by private bargain.

671. *E.E.C.*, November 20th 1790. There was also to be a servitude against buildings above 10 feet high on the area between a planned street 20 feet wide to their east and 5 feet of the houses in Robertson's Close "which belong to the said Trustees".

672. *Petition of the Procurator fiscal*, 13 September 1787.

673. *Petition of Robert Kay, architect*, 24 May 1788, and *Petition of the Procurator fiscal*, 1788.

674. "This day I observed with Regret that the Black Turnpike is pulling down." "Diary of George Sandy", Tuesday 14th May 1788, in *B.O.E.C.*, vol. XXIV, p. 35.

675. *Petition of Andrew Murray*, wigmaker, and others, 6 December 1788; the elevation was approved but the first floor [ground floor] pillars had to be not less than 21 inches in front, their "whole thickness .. to the spring of the arches", had to be constructed of solid ashlar, and the front had to be in line with the adjacent building and "set off" by Robert Kay.

676. Agreement had been reached between John Neal, now the sole proprietor of his demolished tenement, and the neighbouring owners. Neal's old building had been four and a half storeys in height, the topmost partly within the roof space and lit by two wall-head dormers. In the new design, the overall height was raised to five stories and attic, and the height of each floor was increased by ten inches, from eight feet two inches to nine feet. (*Petition of John Neal*, merchant, and *Petition of Adam Keir*, baker, and others, both 14 May 1789).

677. *Petition of George Rae*, and others, 28 July 1790. It was five-storied like the rest, and the height of each of its floors was set at ten feet and a half feet. In petitions of the 8 September and 22 August the following year, reference is made to "Mssrs Baxter and Kay, Architects in Edinburgh".

678. *Petition of William Vair, barber and wigmaker, and Thomas Hamilton, wright*, 16 July 1790; their south gable was ruinous and hazardous. And in another petition of 15 December 1790; the gable was to be taken down and the proprietors proposed to rebuild the whole tenement.

679. *Edinburgh*, op.cit., index.

680. *Petition of Robert Kay*, Drawing Master, 11 July 1782. He is also said by Grant to have been the designer of Home Rigg's house in Gosford Close of 1774, but no reference is given and the story may well be apocryphal.

681. *Petition of John Christie*, wright, 20 and 27 February 1783.

682. *Edinburgh*, p. 293.

683. *Petition for David Lindsay and others*, 18 July 1793, 27 November 1794; concerning the tenement to the east side of Milnes Court fronting James Court. *Petition of Rev Walter Young*, 7 Feb. 1793; to erect or rebuild a new tenement west of Whitslades land. *Petition of John Andrews and others*, 12 Dec. 1793; to rebuild the former Elliots Land at the head of James Court, lately condemned and taken down. *Petition of William Govan and others*, 16 Oct. 1794; to rebuild Whitslades Land fronting James Court which has been condemned and taken down. *Petition of Charles Sanderson*, 31 July 1794; to re-erect the tenement at the back of the west land fronting James Court which has been condemned and taken down. *Petition of David Lindsay and others*, 27 Nov. 1794; concerning the tenement at the east side of Milnes Court fronting James Court which has been condemned and taken down. (Same as Petition of Lindsay, Sanderson, and Brunton, 12 Feb. 1796.) *Petition of William Neil, builder*, 28 Nov 1798; accounts for land built on the north side of Lawnmarket. *Petition of Neil Logan, sherriff, Matthews, and Patterson*, 17 Jan. 1799; concerning their tenement on the north side of Lawnmarket lately condemned and now rebuilding, which they wished to project a few inches on the precedent set by the area sold to Andrew Irvine now building. *Petition of the Procurator fiscal*, 13 Feb. 1800; since no work has been done to the ruinous tenement between Lady Stairs and upper Baxters Close - Esprys Land - the council should set the work in hand, and sell the material to defray costs. *Petition of Hall and Sherriff against Ritchie*, 13 Nov 1800; as proprietors of two flats in John Murrays Land in Lawnmarket, sometime taken down and rebuilt - arguments over height.

684. Most of the buildings between Galloway's and Celler's Close had been causing trouble for some years. They varied widely in age and style: McLellan's land between Dunbar's and Galloways Close, which "did lately give way" in 1782, was a "very old" wooden fronted tenement, and the owners were ordered to demolish the back wall. They soon became alarmed at the danger of bringing down the forewall if they proceeded and applied for permission to demolish the whole tenement and to rebuild it in "hewn stone". Having demolished the back wall to the shop floor level, they discovered that the forewall depended on the abutment formed by one side for the arches below the shop "on which the stone work on the front is superstructed". (*Petition of James Seton*, merchant, and the Procurator fiscal, 26 September 1782). At the same time, another tenement behind it, in Dunbar's Close, was also being taken down. The tenement fronting the street belonged to Thomas Tulloch merchant and others, the one behind to James Seton, merchant. (*Petition of James Seton*, merchant 13 April 1782). McLellan's Land shared its east gable with Carrubber's Land, also the subject of an application by the procurator fiscal for its demolition in 1780. (*Petition of the Procurator fiscal*, 29 November 1781). Despite the rebuilding of the gable, (*Petition of John Wilson, mason, and Daniel Lamb, wright*, 10 September 1781, and 24 June 1784 [accounts]), and an attempt to repair the roof (*Petition of the heritors of Carrubbers Land*, 31 Jan 1782), a lead platform which had already had work done to it in 1775, (*Petition of the heritors of Carrubbers Land*, 22 November 1775, and 31 January 1776 [accounts]) by 1788, the new owner of the upper storey complained that "the Rooff, west and east walls with north wall and forewall and internal parts are in total disrepair". Though this sounded alarming, the total costs of repairs were not to exceed £43/19/6d sterling (*Petition of James Laing, writer*, 17 July 1788). Gavinlock's Land, which joined Carrubber's Land to the east, at the head of Cellers Close, had been built by Alexander Govanlock, mason, in the late 1690s (*B.O.E.C.*, vol. XXIX, p. 133), and its east gable had already been taken down and rebuilt by order of the court in the 1760s, at the same time the north-west corner of the side wall of the little tenement immediately to the east on which it was founded was also demolished (*Petition of William Mylne*, mason, and heritors of Gavinlocks Land, 25 Feb 1762).

685. *Complaint of George Fairholme* of Greenhill against David McKain, 20 July 1780; the Procurator fiscal had inspected the property immediately west of Patersons Court and ordered it to be rebuilt. *Petition of George Fairholme*, 12 April 1781; for permission to take down the timber tenement to the west of the tenement just taken down as it shared a mutual gable and was now in danger. *Petition of the Procurator fiscal*, 28 June 1781; for permission to order the taking down of the gable of the tenement (the property of Edward Inglis, druggist) to the west of the "Temple" Land belonging to George Fairholm which is now rebuilding. *Petition of William Sprott for Mr. Edgar and George Fairholms against David McKain*, 26 April 1781; to order the front of the tenement being rebuilt at the west side fronting Pattersons Court to be kept in line with the stone built tenement to its east. *Petition of William Sprott, the Procurator fiscal*, 17 June 1783; for permission to order the repair of the gables of the large front land at the head of Miln's Court which are ruinous and dangerous.

686. In 1793, "certain wooden-fronted tenements of land between Anchor and Jacksons Close [were] lately condemned as hazardous ruinous and dangerous and ... though the owner of one tenement is in the East Indies, and the next on west is stone fronted, the work is to proceed" (*Petition of James Gillespie* of Spylaw and the Procurator fiscal, 24 Oct. 1793). Peacocks Land, between Old Post Office and Anchor Close had already begun to be taken down, though its demolition was hindered by a vent of the small tenement to the north within the gable (*Petition of the proprietors of Peacocks Land*, William Coulter, William Butter, Dugald Masterson, and John Milne, 4 July 1793). In 1795, Charles Ritchie, having purchased the shop, vaults and two flats above in Clarksons Land between the head of Anchor Close and Richardsons Land, also began to rebuild, and this work was finished by 1798 (*Petitions of Charles Ritchie*, 3 Sept. 1795, 3 March 1796, and 21 June 1798). The rebuilding of Richardson's Land, the stone fronted tenement entered by the first turnpike at the east side of Foulis Close, which had been built for Robert Richardson and others in 1687 (*B.O.E.C.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 118) was held up by its proprietors "refusal to agree" (*Petitions of James Clark, leather merchant*, 3 Sept. 1795, 3 March 1796) The different owners of the flats rarely agreed, refusing to pay for the very great disrepair of its chimney stalks in 1789 (*Petition of David Bruce sclater*, 7 May 1789), and allowing the tenement possessed by Robert Patterson wright "to go into such a miserable bad state

of repair ...[that it was a] great measure ruinous but also to endanger lives of those who have occasion to frequent the close" when a repair notice had to be served on the other proprietors (*Petition of James Rankin merchant*, 3 March 1791).

687. *Complaint of the Heritors of that wooden fronted tenement at the head of Dunbars Close against the Procurator fiscal*, 2 February 1797.

688. The Company's title to the land started with a Charter of King James to John, Lord Bothwell of the 10th February 1485. It described a tenement of land, fore and back, with yards and orchards thereof, bounded by the lands of the deceased John Nairn on the east, the lands of John Galloway and the King's high street on the west, the croft belonging to the deceased Robert Napier on the south, and the King's high street on the north. (*Decreet in favour of the Merchant Company against Dr. Adam Austin, physician*, 4 Nov. 1766.)

689. Heron, op.cit., p. 94.

690. ibid, pp. 160-67. Overtures for the use of ground had been made by the Linen Hall and Bank in the 1750s, then based in Halkerstone's Wynd, but in 1752 it had found more satisfactory premises in Moray house, where it stayed till its move to Tweedale house in 1791 (Charles A. Malcolm, *The History of the British Linen Bank*, (Edin.: 1950), pp. 161-167).

691. "To be set or sold... That Large and Commodious Building lately occupied by the Commissioners of Excise in Cowgate ... with the Garden Coach houses and Stables fronting Candlemaker Row ... if not sold it will be set in lease for one or more lodgings ... The Garden is very fit for building upon." (*E.E.C.*, 11 Dec. 1773).

692. *Petition of Patrick Taylor*, smith, 1779, and *Petition of James Brown*, wright in Bristo, 1779.

693. *Petition of Robert Burn*, mason, 20 July 1780, and *Petition of George Callendar*, wright, 14 June 1781.

694. *Petition of Thomas McDonald*, W.S., Ellis Martin, merchant in Leith, and John Horn, wright, as creditors and trustees for the creditors of Patrick Taylor, smith, and for Patrick Taylor himself, 1 Aug. 1782; for permission to rebuild the east gable and part of the north wall of Taylor's tenement which had collapsed having been built on top of an old well. Taylor had made over the rights to the tenement to the Trustees, and the cost of both the rebuilding, and the repairs to the damaged property in Humes Close, were to be declared a real and preferable debt.

695. *Petition of William Craig* Esq., Advocate, John Anstruther Esq. Advocate, Thomas Cleghorn, merchant and late Dean of Guild, and William Scott, Solicitor at Law, for themselves and in the name and behalf of other Proprietors of Merchant Street and Browns Square, 1784.

696. *Petition of James Watson*, stabler, 16 Nov. 1748; possessor of house and stabling at the east side of the foot of Candlemaker Row, in tack from Mrs Heriot - repair roof. *Petition of Robert Alexander*, watchmaker in Leith, 25 Sept. 1751; proprietor of tenement of land and stabling near foot of Candlemaker Row "which anciently belonged to Mr. Lockhart of Lee" - repairs to mutual wall with Hammermen's garden.

697. *Petition of William Sprott*, Procurator Fiscal, 4 July 1782; the repairs were to be declared a debt on the property.

698. No building was to take place within fifteen feet of the ground feued to Brown.

699. *Scroll, Act and Warrand in favour of Alexander Crichton*, 8 Aug 1783; Crichton possessed a large area with buildings between the Society and the Row, formerly a coal fold, which he had on a 62 year lease (from 1757) from Jean Cleghorn for the "business of coachmaking". The area was presently possessed by "Alexander Peters, wright and other undertakers for building of the new Exchange".

700. *Petition of Agnes Chalmers*, 31 Aug 1786; having some houses and a back area in Candlemaker Row with a large broad entry leading into said houses and area from Brown's Square. Mrs. Chalmers' shop was separated from the property of "Mr Callendar, architect" by that of Alexander Murray of Henderland, one of the Senators of the College of Justice (who applied in 1786 to rebuild the roof of his office in Browns Square, which had fallen into disrepair). Unless an unknown "Mr. Callendar, architect" also owned property in the area, Murray's petition referred to George Callendar, the wright.

701. *Petition of William Crawford, smith and Alexander Duchan, seal engraver*, 13 August 1787.

702. *Petition of Walter Ferguson*, candlemaker, 5 July 1787.

703. *Petition of Alexander Keddie, present Deacon of Candlemakers, and Walter Fergusson, present Boxmaster*, 9 Sept. 1784. Their four-storied Convening hall was built in 1722, and the other tenements were mostly small houses and workshops of the late seventeenth or eighteenth century. See *B.O.E.C.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 106 and 110.

704. *Petition for Thomas Potts*, merchant, 11 July 1782; on the site of some ruinous houses bought from William McConachie, wright, one of the lesser developers of the Society in the 1770s.

705. See *Caledonian Mercury*, 5 July 1786, quoted in *B.O.E.C.*, vol. XVIII, p. 159.

706. Mackenzie, p. 71.

707. ibid, p. 142.

708. Petition of Francis Brodie, Gilbert Auchinleck, cutler, and others, in *Scroll Act and Warrand in favour of Deacon Francis Brodie*, September 1776. A Gilbert Auchinleck, cutler, also owned part of tenement on the east side of Halkerston's Wynd in 1762, and as proprietor of some old houses and areas in Shoemakers Close, Canongate, proposed in 1764, to pull them down and erect new ones.

709. *Petition of Francis Brodie, wright, Gilbert Auchinleck, cutler*, 22 April 1779; as proprietors of the area immediately west of shop and cellar of tenement next to St. Mary's Wynd presently building by John Mowat, merchant, and also as the proprietors of the stories to be built above Mr. Mowat's shop.

710. *Petition of Francis Brodie, wright*, 15 October 1781; the Marquis on behalf of himself and the house's occupant, Allan McDougal, WS, wanted reassurance on the effect Brodie's work would have on the mutual gable.

711. *Petition of the Procurator fiscal*, 21 September 1774, and *Petition for John Grieve Esq.*, 3 February 1785. This may have been the tenement in World's End Close of William Loch, writer, who was complaining that his tenant "is making great complaint" about the building work being carried out in the passage by Alexander Gray and William Miln, mason, despite the court's order to stop (described on p.). *Act and Decreet of the City of Edinburgh against James Loch*, 1786, and *Petition of John Mylne, mason and the Procurator fiscal*, 31 January 1788.

712. eg: In 1787, Mrs Rachel Auchinleck or McQueen, bought the whole two-storied dwelling house or lodging of the deceased Daniel Stewart, Surgeon on the Island of Dominica in World's End Close, and re-erected a plain block two feet higher (*Petition of Mrs Rachel Auchinleck*, 29 November 1787),and in St. Mary's Wynd itself, the proprietor of half a small house on the west side of the street, empty of tenants, applied for permission to convert it to a ferrier's shop, and to erect a forge on the west side and take down part of the front wall "to make a broad and easy passage" (*Petition of William Michie* as factor for Miss Agnes Robertson, 14 August 1783).

713. *Diary of George Sandy*, op. cit. Thursday 29 May, 1788.

714. In the periods covered by this work, they were referred to and referred to themselves as Miln in the seventeenth century, and Milne in the eighteenth century. This spelling was maintained until the era of Robert and William, where they referred to themselves as Mylne, but were mostly referred to as Milne by others in petitions until the 1780s, when the spelling "Mylne" seems to have become generally accepted.

715. eg the Tron Kirk, Heriot's Hospital, Holyrood Palace. MacGibbon and Ross, *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, (Edin.: 1892) Vol. V, pp. 564, 565.

716. *Petition of William Mylne*, mason, 25 February 1762. *Petition and Complaint of William Loch*, writer, 1762; "..William Miln mason carried on and broke throw the wall". *Petition of William Mylne*, mason, 3 September 1766. *Petition of Mr William Mylne*, Architect, 20 August 1766. *Petition of William Mylne*, Architect, 8 July 1767. *Decreet upon William Mylne against Duncan Forbis Patterson*, 11 September 1771.

717. *Petition of Christian Nasmith*, residenter, 10 and 24 April 1783; she was the proprietor of the third storey and William Milne "late architect in Edinburgh" was the proprietor of the undermost storey in a tenement of land between Gray's and Skinners Close - Robert Selby, factor and doer "has caused masons to dig below close level ..[which] may endanger the tenement". Work was allowed to continue but only to a certain extent and with a fine of £100 scots if the court's orders were disobeyed. The original date of the building is unknown, but from the size of vent B, and the existing disposition of the rooms, it seems likely that it had already undergone fairly radical replanning earlier in the century.

718. eg *Petition of Charles Freebairn*, architect, 17 March 1762; accounts for the rebuilding of a small tenement on the west side of the head of Cants Close. *Petition of Robert Selby*, plumber, 27 December 1769; proprietor of ground at foot of Baillie ffyfes Close on the undermost part of which he intends to build a house.

719. 23 May 1782; the petitioner was the proprietor of a ruinous old tenement on the north side of the middle of the West Bow, which he wished to take down and rebuild,"and for that purpose the Tenants in the tenement have already flitted from their possessions".

720. *Petition of Alexander Brown*, merchant, as factor for Robert Miln Esq. Architect in London, 20 July 1786.

721. *Petition of Hugh Blair, writer and Thomas Heriot, wright*, 6 March 1783.

722. *Decree of John Wilson and William Pirnie, masons against William Butters Esq., King's Carpenter for Scotland*, 7 March and 30 May 1782.

723. Thomas Milne, mason, in 1750, Thomas Mylne in 1756 (for the taking down of a gavel in Hyndford Close), Thomas Miln, mason, in 1761 (as the proprietor of a demolished house in Halkerston's Wynd). John Milne, founder, in 1748 (as proprietor of a dwelling house at the foot of Chalmers Close), in 1756 (for the repair of a roof in Barringers Close), in 1769 for the same property, and in 1779 (as the proprietor of the high and laigh shop at the head of Morocco

Close, Lawnmarket).

724. *Petition of James Mckell*, hookmaker in Leith Wynd, 28 June 1779.

725. *Petition of John Murray and William Falconer*, wrights in Leith Wynd, 31 August 1788.

726. *Petition of James Clark*, glazier in Canongate, Alexander Dundas, indweller there, and James Ramsay, mason, 8 May 1776.

727. *Petition of Henry Duncan*, merchant, and others, 1 February 1780.

728. *Petition of Alexander Simpson*, merchant taylor in Canongate, 31 May 1787; as heritor of the subjects, Simpson had the "privilege to employ the south gable of the new tenement of land built by Archibald Chessels on the north side.."

729. *Petition of Samuel Watson* for Mrs Colvin, 17 May 1781.

730. *Petition of William Hay, WS*, 11 July 1782,; William Hay ws, who had bought a coach-house on the east side of the wynd, applied to demolish it and build a small tent but permission was refused as the coach house, built for John Earl then Marquis of Tweedale and later owned, among others, by John Home coachmaker, actually belonged not to Hay but to Leggat who in turn also applied to build. The bundle includes *Petition of Alexander Leggat, broker*, and *Answer for Miss Ann and Jean Bruce*, daughters of the deceased Mr. John Bruce Minister of the Gospel at Airth. The Misses Bruce, objectors to the petition of Hay, were the adjoining proprietors of a large tenement of land "of old called the Chancellor Chapel of St. Mary."

731. *Complaint of Procurator fiscal against James Izett Hat maker*, 16 March 1787.

732. *Petition of Baillie George Rae*, Candle maker, 18 June 1789.

733. Chambers, (1825 edition), p. 301.

734. See *E.E.C.*, 4 January 1790.

735. *B.O.E.C.*, vol. XXIV, p. 250.

736. *Petition of Captain Archibald Grant of Monymusk*, 8 February 1776; he proposed to "carry off anything that may come from the said appartment by a drain to the common sewer in Horse Wynd", for which permission was granted.

737. "In 1763 - People of quality and fashion lived in houses, which, in 1783, are inhabited by tradesmen, and people in humble and ordinary life. The Lord Justice Clerk Tinwald's house [Miln Square, 2nd house from the Bridge stairs, 2nd and 3rd flats; Chambers 1825 p.251] was lately possessed by a French Teacher - Lord President Craigie's house [Lawnmarket, 1758ish; Somerville p.326] is at present possessed by a Rouping-wife or Sales-woman of old furniture - and Lord Drummore's house was lately left by a Chairman for want of accommodation."

738. Gifford, McWilliam, Walker, *Buildings of Scotland: Edinburgh*, (1984), p. 186.

739. Its foundation stone was laid in June 1777 by Sir William Forbes as Grand Master Mason in Scotland (Kincaid, p. 188), and is said to have been designed by Alexander Laing (Edinburgh, p. 186).

740. Kincaid, p. 143.

741. "whereas several Buildings in the University of Edinburgh are in a ruinous Condition, and the Apartments, from the Increase of Students, incommodious, which makes it necessary to rebuild the said University, or Part thereof..." *Act Geo.III*, Cap.28.

742. Arnot p. 530.

743. The principal subscribers were; The Lord Provost, for the City, £400 per annum for 5 years; The Writers to the Signet, 200 guineas per annum for 3 years; The Faculty of Advocates, 100 guineas per annum for 5 years; The Royal Society, 100 guineas per annum for 5 years; The Earl of Hopetoun, 100 guineas per annum for 5 years; The Earl of Wemyss, £100 per annum for 3 years; as well as 42 "titled persons", 56 merchants, 44 members of the Royal College of Physicians, 37 advocates, and others.

744. *Letter to the Lord Provost*, 30 August 1791, quoted in Youngson p. 129.

745. *Petition of the Trustees to Henry Dundas*, for government aid, 1799; quoted in Youngson pp. 130, 131.

746. Maitland, p. 370.

747. Two quadrangles were originally intended.

748. *The World*, March 22 1753, quoted in Kenneth Clark, *The Gothic Revival*, third edition, 1962, p. 53. Thomas Gray had been writing in the 1740s and William Kent died 1748, Gibbs, Sanderson Miller at Hagley 1746. "The modern Gothick ... is known by its Disposition, and by its affected Lightness, Delicacy, and over-rich, even whimsical Decorations". *The City and Country Purchaser's and Builder's Dictionary: or the Complete Builder's Guide*, originally written and compiled by Richard Neve, Philomath. Third Edition, 1736; quoted in Clark, p. 50.

749. Arnot, p. 320.

750. ibid.

751. Acts of 1781 and 1782 had granted permission and made provision for the new jail, £5,000 was granted by the government, and the rest of the cost was raised by a tax on the city and county (Arnot, p. 544), and in 1791 their building was approved by Act of Parliament (*3 Geo. III* ch. 57, 1791).

752. see *Scots Magazine* (1785), p. 632; quoted in Youngson p. 122.

753. Adam's design was the winner in an open competition. At least five variants of his design, and two other unsuccessful entries are discussed in Thomas A. Markus, ed. Order, Space, and Society, (Edin.: 1982), pp. 66-78.

754. Steuart, D. and Cockburn, A., *General Heads of a Plan for Erecting a New Prison and Bridewell in the City of Edinburgh*, (1782), quoted in Markus op cit p. 65.

755. Markus quoting letter 792, from *The Correspondence of Jeremy Bentham, etc.*, A.T. Milne, Vol.4, October 1788 to December 1793, London, 1981. Adam's final design negated the possibility of night surveillance to the disappointment of Bentham (who had published his Panopticon ideas also in 1791).

756. Thomas Shepherd, *Modern Athens or Edinburgh in the Nineteenth Century*, (1829), p. 59.

757. Arnot, p. 544.

758. The Workhouse had two functions, firstly as a place of shelter for the "legal" poor of the burgh, those who through age or infirmity could not support themselves; secondly, it provided work, for any of the legal poor sufficiently able as well as "illegal" beggars. All were allowed to keep two pence out of every shilling they earned. Arnot, p. 433.

759. see *B.O.E.C.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 67-75.

760. Shepherd, p. 44.

761. The first convention was held in Lawrie's Rooms, James Court, Dec 11 -13, 1792. (See the Official minutes printed in the *Report from the Committee of Secrecy of the House of Commons relative to the Proceedings of the Different Persons and Societies in Great Britain and Ireland engaged in a Treasonable Conspiracy*, March 15 1797, Parl Hist xxxiv 579 et seq., quoted in Meikle p. 105.)

762. James Tytler, the balloonist, was arrested for publishing a seditious libel, but did not appear, and was outlawed (7 January 1793); John Morton, James Anderson, Malcolm Craig, journeymen printers, all received nine months imprisonment, and had to lodge 1,000 merks security for three years good behaviour, for uttering seditious speeches addressed to persons in the military service (the three young men had drunk to "George the Third and last and damnation to all crowned heads" in the castle canteen) (8,9,11 January 1793); William Stewart, merchant in Leith, and John Elder, bookseller, were accused of publishing a seditious writing and two seditious medals (with quotes from the Declaration of Rights) when Stewart fled, so no further proceedings were taken against them (10 January 1793); Captain Johnston, proprietor of the Edinburgh Gazetteer, and Simon Drummond, printer, were arrested for contempt after reporting the preceding trial), and received three months imprisonment, and paid bonds of respectively £500, and £100 security for three years' good behaviour (January and February 1793); Walter Berry, bookseller, was imprisoned for three months, and James Robertson, bookseller and printer, for six, both with security of £100 for three years good behaviour for printing, publishing, circulating, and selling a seditious pamphlet, while the third accused, William Callender, fled the country (January, February, and March 1793).

763. Henry MacKenzie, *Anecdotes and Egotisms, 1745 - 1830*, (Oxford: 1927), pp. 162, 163.

764. Arnot, pp. 220, 221, 222.

765. The house formerly belonged to Lord Edgefield; Boswell's *Journal*, 2 February 1779.

766. Robertson, by then aged 57, was considerable shaken by the experience and retired from his leadership of the church in 1780, but continued as Principal of the University, and to preach at Grayfriars, until 1792 the year of his death.

767. The Bill itself was passed quietly, without further disturbances in 1793.

768. Mons. B --de, *Reflections on the Causes and Probable Consequences of the Late Revolution in France, with a View of the Ecclesiastical and Civil Constitution of Scotland* (Trans.), Edinburgh :1790, Letter viii., quoted in Meikle, p. 34.

769. Alexander Heron, *The Rise and Fall of the Company of Merchants of the City of Edinburgh, 1681 - 1902*, (Edin.: 1903), p. 131. See also *Petition for the Merchant Company by David Bridges*, as Treasurer, 20 November 1788 (no drawing).

770. *Petition for the Incorporation of Bakers of Canongate*, Roderick McKenzie, Deacon, 17 May 1784.

771. *Petition of the Corporation of Hammermen of Canongate*, 19 April 1787.

772. *Petition for James Williamson*, mason, present Master of the Lodge of Journeymen Masons, and Thomas Russel, present Treasurer, for themselves and in the name of the Remnant Brethren, 1 March 1787; since the lodge was not a corporation, it needed named individuals to make the petition, and also had first to prove their right, as a body or as individuals, to the property.

773. *Petition of the Writers to the Signet*, Mr John Davidson, Deputy Keeper of the Society of Writers to His Majesty's Signet, and Mr. Samuel Mitchelson, Treasurer, 30 July, 26 August, 9 September 1784.

774. *Petition of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 17 July 1783. This was almost definarely the "Large and Commodious" house belonging to Col. Charles Campbell of Barbreck, and possessed by Mr. Sinclair of Freswick in 1773, which was advertised as having 15 fire rooms, closets and garrets, a "large good" kitchen, servants apartments and "excellent" cellars, with an extensive and convenient area, stable, and coach house, all enclosed with a good stone wall with a "handsome" gate and entry for carriages from the Cowgate, and "immediate" access to the Cross and High Street by a private entry through Royal Bank Close, and to the Parliament house by another private door leading by the back stairs (*E.E.C.*, 23 Jan. 1773).

775. Earl of Buchan quoted in Sher, p. 305.

776. The Antiquaries, said Dr. Robertson, had "many Members neither Gentlemen nor men of Erudition". quoted in Sher, p. 305.

777. Arnot, pp. 548 - 551.

778. Arnot, p. 330. See also the *Petition of the Medical Society of Edinburgh*, 30 June 1785; the sunk floor in the Hall built "some years ago" in High School Yards, had never been "fitted up", and this was now proposed together with new drain.

779. *Petition for David Williamson*, printer, 10 April 1788.

780. *Petition of Robert Ferrier*, merchant, 28 February 1788; lately purchased piece of ground and house on St John's Hill, Pleasance from Professor Robertson to build workhouse.

781. *Petition of William Coulter*, hosier, 16 Feb. 1782.

782. *B.O.E.C.*, vol. XXIV, p. 95.

783. *Petition for George Grindlay*, leather merchant, 19 March 1789; accounts for repairs to Hempseeds Land, granted 6 October 1786 by City Treasurer "All and haill of that ruinous tenement of land and dwelling houses, stables, and others and area of garden behind sometime possessed by John Johnston of Whitelaw, merchant". (Articles of Roup, Hempseeds subjects; "all and Whole That Ruinous Tenement of Land and Area of Garden behind the same lying at the foot of the West Bow and West side thereof..", 1786.)

784. *Petition of Andrew Bell*, smith in Canongate, 9 October 1783; to repair a small house presently ruinous in Rae's Close.

785. *Petition of Patrick McVicar*, writer, 10 February 1779; to rebuild his property of small area at the back of Warden's stables on which stood some years ago a house accidently burned down, now ruinous shades as a bakehouse and oven. Permission was granted on condition that no stacks of wood were to be kept either in the Bakehouse or the area adjacent on penalty of £100 scots. *Petition of William Murray*, baker, 13 May 1779; has house and garden ground in Grassmarket in tack from Robert Gray, as factor to Dr. Alexander Hunter, physician in York, with power to build oven in garden. *Petition of Edward Innes*, baker, 27 November 1783; to erect an oven and enlarge the front windows

of his property of a small two-storied tenement of houses on the east side of Niddry's Wynd, in the under storey which was covered by a stone arch. *Petition of William Rankin*, dyer, 12 June 1786; to set house he possessed on the east side of Borthwick's Close in tack to baker.

786. See Arnot, Appendix XIII, and Somerville, pp. 334-338.

787. North Bridge elevations kept up this tradition as did the South Bridge frontages, though in the later development, openings to laigh shops were banished from Bridge Street.

788. *Petition of William Smith*, mason in Bristo, 10 July 1776; to rebuild the tenement he had bought from an Ann Forsyth alias Brodie, baker in London. Unsurprisingly, the proposal was approved on condition the fore stair was taken within the building.

789. *Petition of John Fairbairn*, clerk to Mr Alexander Donaldson, bookseller, 13 June 1782.

790. *Petition of William Armstrong*, founder, 2 March 1787; Armstrong had a twelve year lease of the fore house immediately west of Castle Wynd from Dr. Michael Carmichael. See also, Millar's shop Blackfriar's Wynd, 1795, and a shop on the east side of North Bridge Street, where new windows were to be put in which would "not project above two inches beyond the present range of windows. (*Petition of William Keith and Co.*, merchants, 25 June 1789.)

791. *Petition of William Crawfurd, smith, and Alexander Duchan, seal engraver*, 13 April 1787; the property had been bought at public roup in 1786 from the trustees and creditors of George Callander, and so though no address is given, was probably in the vicinity of Candlemaker Row.

792. *Petition of Miss Nicolsons and Mr Allan McConachie, advocate*, 31 July, 7 August 1783.

793. *Petition and Complaint of Peter Lawson, seed merchant, James Boyd, vintner, and the Procurator fiscal*, 17 December 1789.

794. Somerville, p. 357.

795. *Petition of Sir William Forbes, James Hunter Blair and Company, bankers*, 13 May 1779, and 6 May 1784; they proposed to take down an adjacent "ruinous tenement" they had "lately acquired the right by purchase from the Community of Edinburgh" to add a new wing to the counting house. The new property was entered by the "Stairs leading from Parliament Square", the first time "square" instead of "close" is used in remaining petitions.

796. Quoted in *B.O.E.C.*, vol. XIV, p. 130.

797. ibid, p.138 quoting advertisement of public roup of 1788. It had been previously leased by Peter Ramsay.

798. *Act Scroll and Warrand in favour of Peter Ramsay*, 26 October 1780; report by James Ramsay, slater, and Alexander Laing, mason. (The stables belonged to the heirs of John McMillan). At the same time as McFarlane took over from Dumbreck on the north bridge, the Red Lyon was put up for sale at public roup for an asking price of £6000 [scots?], with a proven rent of £66 sterling.

799. It consisted of a "large tenement of land fronting Bristo Street on the west, containing four storeys and garrets above the ground, with cellars below, together with other stabling, hay lofts, shades, stable yard, summer house and two dwelling houses above the stables, lying at the back or east side of the said large tenement and the back of another tenement betwixt it and Bristo-port; the first two storeys ... with stabling etc presently possessed by John Cockburn stabler, the third storey possessed by Lady Nisbet of Dean, the fourth storey possessed by James McQueen writer, the westmost two

houses above the stables possessed by Mrs Elliot, the eastmost - Young" (*B.O.E.C.*, op. cit.; 15 May 1776).

800. *Petition of James Ferrier*, farmer at Grange, 29 November 1776.

801. *B.O.E.C.*, op. cit., pp. 183, 184, 189, 190.

802. W. Forbes Gray, "The Lands of Newington and their Owners", *B.O.E.C.*, vol. XXIV, p. 159.

803. Lord Cockburn, *An Examination of the Trials for Sedition which have hitherto occurred In Scotland*, (Edinburgh: 1888), Vol. I, pp. 176,177: quoting Robert McQueen, Lord Braxfield, the Lord Justice-Clerk instructing the jury at the end of the trial of Thomas Muir of Huntershill, August 1793. The charges against Muir were for "wickedly and feloniously exciting, by means of seditious speeches and harangues, a spirit of disloyalty and disaffection to the king and the established government;..for advising and exhorting persons to purchase and peruse seditious and wicked publications and writings ... for distributing and circulating any seditious writing ... [and] producing and reading aloud in a public meeting or convocation of persons a seditious and inflammatory writing tending to produce in the minds of the people a spirit of insurrection etc.." (State Trials, vol. xxiii. p. 117). Muir, an advocate until he was struck off the roll in March of the same year for failing to appear to answer the same charge of sedition, was sentenced to fourteen years transportation to Botany Bay.

804. Somerville, p. 360.

805. ibid, pp. 343, 344.

806. In response, another anonymous author declared that "He that oppresseth the Poor, reproacheth his Maker". *Glasgow Polity*, 1785, p. 1, and pp. 27-8; both quoted in Cage, p. 111.

807. Chambers, p. 1. The book is prefaced by a string of quotations: Antiquasque domos ..... petebam (Virgil); .... ferimur per opaca locorum. (ibid); ..... celeberrima per loca vadit. (Horace); ..... quid nos dura refugimus Aetas? quid intactum nefasti Liquimus? (ibid), etc.

808. Scott, *Prose Works*, 19:321, quoted in Sher p. 322.

809. This work, written when the author was "an insignificant person of the age of twenty", is more often quoted from the greatly amended version of 1846, again rewritten in 1868, by which time the author was a man of widely established reputation and considerable fortune.

810. Chambers, p. 74.

811. Chambers also had "the pleasure of enjoying some intercourse with the venerable Henry Mackenzie", and, though he "did not see or here from him till the first volume had been completed", with Sir Walter Scott, "almost an object of worship" to him.

812. Almost without exception men such as Sharpe were in feudal terms just as close in rank to the multitude they so despised as to the aristocracy they so admired. Sharpe (1781-1851), was himself merely the third son of a man of the minor gentry, and the small estate which his family had inherited from a very distant relative had been in their possession for only two generations, despite his very tenuous claims to "cousinship" with the major nobility. ("Memoir" in *Letters from and to Charles Kilpatrick Sharpe, Esq.*, Edinburgh: 1888.

813. Letter to the Printer, *E.E.C.* 3 April 1765.

814. Chambers (1868 edition), p. vi..

815. Who lived for a few months every year in their father's house on three of the floors above the shops (with the garret for their servants) of a front land between Advocates and Don's Close (Chambers, pp. 306-312).

816. Youngson, p. 3.

817. Draft *Code of Ethics*, March 15, 1993.